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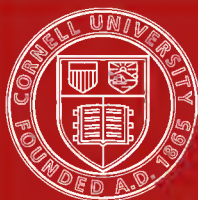
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THE  
DIPLOMATIC SERVICE;

AN ABSTRACT AND EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE  
TAKEN BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF  
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1870.

By R. G. WATSON,  
SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

*Letter by H. Barra  
Secret. of Embass*

LONDON:  
JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN, 74, PICCADILLY.  
1871.

*Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.*



Edward H. Ozmun

U.S. Consul

Stuttgart





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# THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

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IN anticipation of the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the condition of the diplomatic service, a pamphlet was last year submitted to the public, giving a sketch of English diplomacy; the immediate demand for a second edition of the small work showed that its subject was of interest sufficient to justify the writer in his attempt. Since then a whole flood of light has been let in upon the scene, but as comparatively few persons have time to read through a Blue Book of five hundred and thirty-seven pages, a short summary and criticism of the evidence presented to the House of Commons may, perhaps, not be superfluous.

The following abstract will give the principal portions of the evidence taken, in the words of those examined, but necessarily omitting all observations further than the real sense of the answers given to the questions put by the members of the Select Committee. The abstract will only contain the evidence bearing upon the Diplomatic Service and on the working of the Foreign Office :—

RIGHT HON. EDMUND HAMMOND.

39. Do you receive reports from the chiefs of the missions as to the conduct of the subordinate members?—No, I should object to that.

40. Why?—Because I think that it would be likely to produce heart-burning, and suspicion, and discontent in a mission, if it was known that these confidential reports were sent in. Those confidential reports have, I believe, been resorted to in some branches of the public service, but I should be sorry to import that system into our service, where the men are few in number, and where in each mission a feeling of distrust might cause an unpleasantness between the chief of the mission and his sub-

ordinates, and might not render the relations as comfortable as they ought to be.

41. I have always wished to see the missions conducted on the same principle as that upon which we conduct the Foreign Office, namely, perfect confidence, perfect goodwill, and no suspicion. We find that system work admirably in the office. More work is done in the Foreign Office than people will give it credit for, because the men there work with a will, and with an *esprit de corps*, and there is no heart-burning among them.

42\*. You would debar yourself from personal knowledge of the character of the gentlemen in a foreign mission by having no communication with the chiefs?—We conclude that if a minister is dissatisfied with his subordinate, we shall hear of it. Generally speaking, we know pretty well the character of the men without asking for reports. From the way in which the members of the diplomatic body are thrown into connection with the members of the Foreign Office, we know pretty well what the character of a man is.

142. Having been so long in the Foreign Office, do you not consider that the service is really blocked up?—I cannot deny it.

144.—Have you any suggestion which you can make to the Committee to remedy this state of things, so as to make the service more desirable?—No; if the Committee would recommend that the service should be made more of a scale service, I should be very glad; by that I mean, that after a certain number of years' service salaries should be increased.

145. It is now utterly impossible for a man of moderate means to go into the diplomatic service; at least it is the height of imprudence to do so. The judgment which I have formed is that no father would act prudently in putting his son into the diplomatic profession, unless he was prepared to allow him £500 a year.

148. *Mr. Cameron.*] Do you think that it would be possible, without injury to the public service, to employ in place of the regular secretaries and attachés, clerks at a much lower salary to do routine work?—I think that such a principle would be utterly ruinous; in the first place it would not be economical, because if you send an Englishman to any foreign country as a copying clerk, you would have to give him much more than 150*l.* a year. You now get your attaché for nothing, and your third secretary for 150*l.* a year. Nothing is so destructive to the harmony of an office, and still more so in the limited sphere of a mission, as to have a difference between the social classes of men. As every person likes to get the work off his own shoulders, those people would be employed on other than the work for which they were engaged. That would be very inconvenient, considering the character of a great part of the business which is carried on in a mission. Then you require a certain staff to meet the pressure of confidential business. The pressure perhaps does not extend over more than two or three days in the week, and unless persons also had the current business and routine business to occupy their time when not engaged in confidential business, they would be in idleness. Now, I do not think that it is good for any public servant to have three or nearly four days idle in the week. There is no ambassador who is the worse for routine training; in fact no ambassador can get his work properly done unless he knows how it should be done, and he can only acquire that knowledge by having worked through all the details. It would be destructive to the Foreign Office to import into it a different class of clerks. At the Foreign Office and at the embassies you must be ready with persons, whether they be secretaries or clerks, to meet any pressure of confidential business.

165. The absence of any diplomatic representative at the Saxon Court, on the part of England alone, of all the Great Powers, was painfully felt by the Royal Family of Saxony, who looked upon it as an indication of indifference to its fate. Besides this, the large British colony at Dresden felt it to be a great hardship to be deprived altogether of a representative, and to be forced to repair to the consular office at Leipsic for various acts of formal assistance. On all these grounds it was determined to place a diplomatic agent of the lowest rank at Dresden, whose allowances amount to 950*l.* a year.

166. Have you prepared a paper as to Darmstadt?—Yes. The near vicinity of Darmstadt to the Prussian frontier, and its territorial sovereignty over one of the most important fortresses on the Rhine, now occupied by a Prussian garrison, invest it with a certain degree of political importance not attaching to Dresden or Coburg.

167. I have no hesitation in saying that the political interests of the country are benefited by the presence of a Minister at Stuttgart. In former times there was a mission established at Frankfort, which was the seat of the Germanic Confederation, where all the members of the Germanic body were represented; and therefore through that mission we had the means of ascertaining pretty correctly the feelings of the different courts of Germany specifically as regarded German affairs. That mission is abolished; but I think that any person who considers the state of Germany, and what hinges on Germany, would come to the conclusion that it is not unimportant for the British Government to have full acquaintance with everything which goes on in those German courts, which are still unincorporated with Prussia. I think that the amalgamation of those missions with the other larger South German Mission—namely, Bavaria—would not be expedient. A Minister going from one court to another may be looked upon with a certain degree of suspicion. In one particular instance the certainty that war was about to begin was first obtained at a small German court.

169. Prussia would not look with jealousy upon a Minister at Dresden as interfering with the court at Berlin?—Prussia herself maintains a diplomatic mission in Saxony.

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191. Supposing that the appointments were thrown open to competition at the Universities, would you not be just as likely as under the present system to get men of great powers of observation, and with agreeable manners, and quickness of intellect, which you stated in your examination before the Committee of 1861 to be the chief qualifications required for the diplomatic service?—The answer to that question is, Can a competitive examination determine anything but the educational qualifications of a man? I believe that it cannot.

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219. I think that some South American missions ought to be raised in character.

221. Could not attachés be sent there without very much increasing the expenses?—I should be very glad, as a relief to the diplomatic service, that that should be done.

225. Do you see any objection to employing junior diplomatic officers instead of consuls in inland places, such as Erzeroum and Warsaw?—As regards Warsaw, a junior diplomatic officer would not do for it. As a rule, of course there is no objection to making a diplomatic officer consul at any place, but Warsaw is rather a political place.

226. We might fill up vacancies, as *quasi* political appointments, in countries like Servia and the Principalities, and Tunis, and Egypt, by

members of the diplomatic profession; but at the same time, perhaps, the doing so would be disheartening to the members of the consular profession, as they very often look forward to such appointments as the reward of long services.

240. You would say, that our relations with Persia are chiefly important with respect to India?—They are, in some respects, important as regards India; but Persia has other neighbours besides our Indian Empire, and if any difficulty arose with those other neighbours, it would concern the empire at large, and must come under the cognizance of the office which deals with countries bordering on Persia. It is a mistake to look upon Persia only from an Indian point of view. Though the ground stated, in 1858, for remitting the charge of the Persian Mission to the India Office, the Government of India being then directly vested in the Crown, namely, that every question which came under discussion between this country and Persia concerned more or less the British Government in India, was so far correct; yet account was not taken of the fact, that Persia, from its contiguity to Turkey and Russia, came, as far as British interests were generally concerned, within the dominion of Imperial policy; and if the independence of Persia were placed in jeopardy by her northern or western neighbours, the representations to be made, and the good offices to be exerted, on behalf of Persia, could only emanate from the Imperial Government. Within one year after the transfer of the Persian Mission to the India Office, the mission was re-transferred to the Foreign Office, on the ground that there were at the Persian Court representatives of France, Russia, and Turkey, and that the matters treated of by Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran were necessarily connected with the relations between England and those three Powers; and that it was necessary that the Secretary of State, who had to convey instructions to the British Minister at Teheran, should be intimately acquainted with all that was passing, on Eastern affairs, between Her Majesty's Government and the French, Russian, and Persian Governments. The same reason exists, if possible, in still greater force at the present time.

251. *Mr. Richard Shaw.*] I understood you to express an opinion in favour of keeping the diplomatic and consular appointments separate and distinct.

252. The services are very distinct; the training for the consular service is not calculated for diplomacy. Before the former Committee on the consular service, I said that I thought that it would be very undesirable to encourage consuls to look to advancement in the political branch of the service, because it would have a tendency to distract their attention from their proper consular duties; there was no objection to importing occasionally an agent into the diplomatic service from the consular service, or from the consular service into the diplomatic service, but it was thought that, generally speaking, it was better to keep the services distinct; the advantage would be largely in favour of not making diplomatic advancement a thing to be sought for by consuls.

256. Is any person of ordinary intelligence fitted for the duties of a consul?—I presume so; of course the higher class of intellect which a man may have the better; but the duties of the consular office do not require high intellect.

303. *Mr. Rylands.*] Do you think that the public are likely to remain satisfied with a system which restricts appointments in an important branch of the public service to persons of family connections or interest, or in possession of wealth?—I can only answer that question by another. Are the public prepared to pay the expense of another system?

316. Are secretaries required to be regular in their attendance at the



legations, and punctual in the performance of duty?—There is a rule laid down on the subject by the Foreign Office, but it depends upon the heads of missions whether they enforce that rule; I should be sorry to have a daily attendance book sent from each mission every year among their other returns; we do not require such a thing at the Foreign Office; in the Foreign Office (and the remark applies to our missions abroad) the junior members are liable to be called upon at all hours, not only in the day, but in the night; and therefore, if you tax those gentlemen in that way, you must not lay down or enforce any very stringent rules, because if your rule as to attendance is stringent, the attaché has a right to require that it should act both ways.

319. Would it not be better in your opinion to have only paid officials, and to see that the public got sufficient work in return for the salary?—To the latter part of your question I would answer that, salary or no salary, you have the work most efficiently performed without reference to the question of no pay or any amount of pay. I should be very sorry to present to the House of Commons an estimate to cover the really necessary and indispensable expenditure of the junior members of our service. They are of no use to you unless they can move in the first circles of society. It is there that a great deal of the current information which it is desirable for the Government to obtain is picked up; and they must make friends with people to obtain it, and also with the diplomatic body. Then, too, you must remember that foreign Governments would not be guided by our precedent if we were to put a different class of men into our missions; yet if we had a different class of men in our missions that class of men could not associate on equal terms with the members of other foreign legations; they would be in a most mortifying position, and one in which I do not think any person would wish to see them placed.

336. Mr. Ward expresses the opinion that it would be desirable to apply to the diplomatic service the system of open competition; do you agree with that?—I entirely disagree, and everybody else who has anything to do with the diplomatic service would entirely disagree with it.

351. I wish to ask you whether, in your opinion, there might not be great advantage in your being able to entrust special duties to clerks of tried efficiency and experience, by sending them to foreign legations when any emergency arose, or by bringing secretaries from abroad when they might be more useful at home?—There is nothing to prevent it now; I believe that most of our clerks, of a certain standing, have at one time or other been employed in foreign missions.

353. Lord Cowley states that he is an advocate for the complete amalgamation of the Foreign Office with the diplomatic service?—I cannot consent to sacrifice the interests of the Foreign Office to those of the diplomatic service. It would be absolute ruin to the Foreign Office to encourage or allow our senior clerks, as a general rule, to leave us, in order to go abroad and be exchanged for people who have not had the training which we in the Foreign Office have had.

421. Three first-class missions have been raised into embassies since 1861, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; can you give any reasons to justify that change?—I think that I can give the Committee very sufficient reasons for it. No complications can arise among foreign nations which do not more or less affect English interests. Our material and industrial interests require that foreign markets should not be closed to us, as they might be, if such complications were not timely dealt with. Our trade alone with foreign countries, not to mention the colonial trade with them, amounts to about 500,000,000*l.* a year, and the

tonnage of our shipping, entered and cleared, engaged in it, amounts to above 22,000,000 tons. It would therefore be a short-sighted and unwise economy to deprive ourselves, by the suppression of our embassies at the great courts, of the means which their maintenance provides for exerting in the interest of peace a salutary influence in the politics of Europe. At courts where other Great Powers maintain ambassadors, Great Britain, if she were to reduce her embassies to missions, would voluntarily accept a lower place, and would be treated accordingly. As regards the expenditure for the diplomatic service of this country, I desire to point out to the Committee that since the year 1843, when the salaries and allowances and pensions of the diplomatic body as then maintained were first brought within the limit declared by the Act of Parliament of 1832 to be sufficient for them—namely, 180,000*l.* a year—the expenditure on those accounts has never been exceeded, but has, on the contrary, generally fallen considerably short of the appointed sum; though in the period that has elapsed since the year 1843—namely, 26 years—the expenditure for every other branch of the public service has enormously increased; and the successive Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, so far from being justly obnoxious to the charge of extravagance for diplomatic expenditure which has been imputed to them, have a right to claim credit for having so administered the fund entrusted by Parliament to the Crown in order to provide for it, as to have met the charge without exceeding the allotted provision, notwithstanding the great increase in the cost of living abroad, amounting, as the Committee will see, on examining the volume that I have laid before them, in some instances to 25, 50, or even considerably more per cent., as stated by unbiassed and independent testimony, which has taken place during the period, and which has rendered it impossible in most, if not in all cases, for our diplomatic servants of whatever rank to provide for their current and necessary expenditure without largely drawing on their private means.

453. Leaving out of consideration the question whether the rank of an ambassador leads directly to expenditure, do you not consider that the salaries attached to our principal missions are too high?—They are perfectly inadequate.

475. The good feeling subsisting between this country and foreign states is kept up in no small measure by the good feeling subsisting between the representatives of the British nation there, and the influential people in the country.

489. You are aware that this costly system of representation at foreign courts is not adopted by the American ministers?—Simply, I believe, because they have not the means of doing so; I may state that I was reminded of one American minister in this country to whom it was so painful to be unprovided with the means of receiving people at his table, that he absolutely refused to go into society at all. Now that is not a proper position for any foreign minister to be placed in.

499. England, I believe, at this present time, is cheaper than any country abroad, because we have such commercial facilities. Our commercial system has opened our ports to all the necessities and luxuries of life, and all naturally come to this as the best market.

500. You are quite aware that in case of the great officers of state at home, the additional expenditure is very considerable which is involved in holding those important offices?—If that principle is to be applied to foreign diplomacy you would shut the door to talent in regard to our representation abroad. I know it for a fact that the necessary expenditure of many of our ministers is so large that they are obliged, not only to appropriate to it their private income, but also their capital.

503. My object is to get from your experience and judgment an opinion as to the facts that might be brought before this Committee to furnish matter for recommendations in connection with the diplomatic service; and it seems to me that it is not out of reason for me to ask you whether, supposing you had an officer similar in position to an under secretary at home, a permanent high officer employed in foreign missions, that would not enable the Government of this country to send over to a foreign mission some public man who might not otherwise have been trained to the diplomatic service?—I would say generally that it would be very undesirable to have attached to a foreign mission a permanent officer of high station, such as those attached to the Foreign Office at home. I think that permanence in a foreign mission is bad. A permanent officer at home may be swayed by influences, but they are the influences of his own country. A permanent officer abroad is only too likely to imbibe the feelings of the court, and to see through the eyes of the court or the Government to which he is accredited, rather than through his own eyes.

505. I may mention that it is a very sore subject with the South American Republics that we are represented there by *chargés d'affaires*, and not by ministers. The United States know their feelings so well, that I believe to all the South American Republics they send duly accredited ministers; and the French are now doing the same to a certain extent.

506. We will keep now to the European missions?—The ruling feeling is the same. If the feeling in the South American Republics is as I describe it, necessarily, to a much greater degree, would it be the feeling in Europe.

515. I do not think you quite apprehend the importance to England of the maintenance of a good understanding among the Powers of the Continent; it is essential to all our manufacturing and industrial interests, and every effort that we can make to maintain a good understanding between the Powers of Europe tends to support the interests of our industrial classes here.

516. In regard to the state of the Continent, in your opinion can there be said to be more than seven or eight states in Europe between which and this country real international business can be carried on?—My answer is, that in every state where we have either an ambassador or an envoy, international business is carried on of very great importance, in different degrees certainly; but all the states of Europe now hang pretty nearly together, and what concerns one concerns all.

522. When there were only very limited and difficult means of communication between London and foreign courts, did not much more depend upon the individual judgment and action of ministers abroad than does now?—Everything now depends upon the judgment and tact of the minister in executing whatever instructions are conveyed to him.

530. The getting instructions upon a particular point does not supersede the daily and hourly transactions in any important negotiation or discussion going on abroad.

563. At this present time our correspondence with our missions is divided between political and commercial correspondence. A great portion of the correspondence that goes out of the Foreign Office in London goes out of the commercial division, is addressed by the Secretary of State to the ambassador, and is acted upon by him, in the same manner as the political part is addressed by the Secretary of State to the ambassador, and is acted upon by him.

568. I am perfectly prepared to say, that if the Committee would

recommend that missions in South America should be placed on a higher footing, and that the country should bear the expense of doing so, our position in those countries would be very much improved.

575. I told you the other day that I had had brought before me the fact of two American ministers being obliged to resign their employment from inability to live upon their salaries; and one of those ministers, if I am rightly informed, was at a place where a higher salary was paid to him than to our own minister.

585. I will now go to the South American missions. You have told us that our interests suffer very materially in connection with these missions, by reason of our not being properly represented there?—What I said was, that I considered that in some cases our interests suffered from our not being properly represented. I have nothing to say against the gentlemen, as your question would imply; but I speak of the gentlemen not having a sufficient representative character.

586. But would that recommendation of yours be answered if these representatives had higher rank without any higher salary?—I do not ask any higher salary for them, and they say that they do not ask any higher salary for themselves; but I certainly never did yet know a man who took an advancement in rank upon the same salary held before, who did not within a year or two come and represent that he wanted a higher salary.

596. No subjects of another country require protection in this country in the way that protection is required in foreign countries for British subjects and British interests. And it is only just lately that the North German Confederation, generally rather economical in its expenditure, has found it necessary to appoint diplomatic representatives to those countries.

1417. *Mr. Rylands.*] Would it not be fair to make a deduction from the outfit allowances in cases where ambassadors and ministers are not obliged to buy plate?—Certainly not. The outfit allowances are only sufficient, indeed they are not sufficient, to enable them to meet their expenses. I should be very glad, indeed, if the Committee would recommend the granting a certain portion of plate to every mission, as was done before 1815.

1545. *Mr. Lowther.*] Do you know of any instances of applications having been made to you by heads of missions for extra hands, and the Foreign Office not being able to supply them?—Several, I think; very many of the foreign missions, even when at the fullest, cry out for additional assistance, and we have no means of supplying them; and when the men are on leave from the mission, of course they are very hardly pressed, but we have no reserve to draw on.

1559. As long as you do not call upon a minister to spend more for his house rent than his allowance, I do not see that there is any particular hardship in putting him into a house taken by Government; because we do not expect him to save anything out of his house rent. If he can get a house for the money assigned to him, well and good, but at the same time I believe that, in many instances, a minister cannot do it.

1560. And when a new head of a mission arrives, he is expected to set himself up at once?—I cannot say that he is expected to do so, but it is assumed that he would.

1564. With regard to the duties of secretaries of legation, do you consider that they are bound to attend every day at the chancery?—The rule was laid down in the circular which you will find in the Blue Book of 1861; I should myself think that they should attend every day in the chancery, in the same manner as I attend every day in the Foreign Office.

1578. Lord Augustus Loftus says that the work has increased tenfold since 1837; do you believe that to be a correct statement?—Yes.

1579. And the pay has not increased in proportion?—No.

1590. Do you know any instances yourself of confidence having been betrayed by any of the junior members of the profession?—I am happy to say that I do not.

1595. *Mr. Eastwick.*] Is your binder bound to secrecy?—We never bind anybody to secrecy; it is a sure way to make him break confidence.

1608. *Mr. William Lowther.*] Do you know of any instances of diplomats, successful in their career, having amassed large fortunes, or indeed any fortunes?—I do not know of any.

1609. Then you would not look upon it as a very lucrative profession?—I look upon it as a most ruinous profession in point of money.

1623. As far as I understand Sir Henry Elliot's statement, putting it in figures to make myself more understood, it was this. Supposing he has now four secretaries, he says that three are quite sufficient to do the current work, but that it would be necessary that those three should have their regular leaves in succession, and that as two could not do the current work, the Foreign Office must send a person to supply the place of the man on leave; and that I presume will not simply apply to the embassy at Constantinople, but to all our embassies. Well, the effect of that would be that we must keep a sort of co-operative store of clerks or secretaries to draw upon as there might be a demand for them. These would be second secretaries to all intents and purposes, and of the most expensive kind, because although you may send a second secretary at a low salary to live at a place two or three years, yet he can take a lodging, and perhaps make some economical arrangement, but if you send a second secretary from England for three months, you must pay him much more liberally than you would pay your regular second secretary, because he would be obliged to live expensively at an hotel, probably at double the expense that he would otherwise incur. In addition to that a second secretary, with all his ability, on first going to a mission cannot be as useful to the mission as if he regularly belonged to it. A man will require perhaps two or three months to acclimatise himself to the mission, to know the ways of business in the mission, and the papers in the mission. Moreover, in another way it would not answer I think, because as we hold it to be a very important part of the duty of a second secretary to have friends and acquaintances in the place, and go into society, a new man coming to a place would not be able to be of the same use in that respect that a man regularly attached to the mission would be; and practically you would keep a mission with the same number of men, but not so useful and much more expensive. That, I believe, is the upshot of the proposal.

1624. You think that it would be neither so efficient a service nor ensure any economy?—It would be ruinously expensive and thoroughly disorganising to the service.

1638. *Mr. Otway.*] I have no hesitation in saying, that half of the merit of our office consists in the means that we have of despatching almost an inconceivable amount of business in an inconceivably short space of time, and that you can only do with good fellowship, and social fellowship, amongst the clerks in the office, and that prevails to an extent which nobody but those practically conversant with the office can appreciate. Long as I have been in the office, I have never known the clerks in the office daunted by any amount of work, or shrink from any amount of sacrifice. The work will be done. It will be a give and take thing among the clerks. If I say to any division, or more than one division,

"This or that thing must be done in a certain time," I am as sure that it will be done as if I had already seen it done; and that can only be managed by an office in which what is commonly called a good *esprit de corps* prevails.

1639. Take the duties of a resident clerk; he must necessarily be in possession in critical times of very important and early information, before you, or I, or the Secretary of State even know it?—Yes.

1640. Is there any instance in your knowledge of the confidence reposed in those gentlemen being betrayed?—I have never known, as regards a resident clerk, or any clerk in the office, anything to transpire that ought not to transpire.

1641. Necessarily, then, a system which has been carried on with such success for so long a time you would feel very much averse to disturbing?—I think that it would be perfectly ruinous to alter the system.

1652. The United States maintain a diplomatic representative with the character of a minister of the third class at Brussels, the Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Athens, Lisbon, and Berne. If, as suggested, we were to reduce our missions at the courts above mentioned, to which the United States appoint ministers, to the lower rank of *chargé d'affaires*, the position of the country in Europe would be disparaged, and with that its influence entirely destroyed. I would refer the Committee to a better witness than myself on this subject—namely, to Lord Palmerston's evidence given before the Committee on Official Salaries in 1850, at Questions 654 to 693, page 72 and the following pages. "The position of the United States renders their European diplomacy a matter to them of very secondary importance; they are separated from Europe by the Atlantic; they have no direct interest in most of the things that pass in Europe, and the chief thing that they want is information." We protect 760*l.* more of trade by our aggregate services, and 43 tons more of shipping, for every pound expended than the United States protect.

1671. *Mr. Otway.*] Do not you think that there would be some advantage in appointing to each mission a chancellor, on the French system, to take charge of the archives, and who would hand down the traditions, so to speak, of the legation when a new chief came in?—I do not think that it would be desirable, except in a place like Constantinople or Paris, where the archives are very voluminous.

1673. Our registrar at Paris is Mr. Atlee, who was for many years Lord Cowley's private secretary, and therefore a person upon whom the most implicit confidence can be placed. Our archivist at Constantinople is Count Alexander Pisani, who has been, I believe, 50 years in the service, has acquitted himself honourably and uprightly throughout the whole of his career, and who, I believe, is a man whose like you could hardly find in any other public service.

1687. *Mr. Arthur Russell.*] There have been no complaints from the members of the diplomatic service against the agency system, have there?—I believe that the general feeling in the diplomatic and consular services is one of unmixed regret at the abolition of a system which has served them, under which their convenience has been greatly consulted, under which they have made many personal friends, and from which their connection with the Foreign Office has been most close.

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1712. Our Minister at Washington is obliged, perhaps more than any other minister, to open his house and his table liberally in order to receive the ministers, senators, and influential persons of the United States. It is expected of the British Minister that he should do so. Mr. Thornton is therefore obliged, and will be obliged, to continue his hospitality on

diminished means, unless it please this Committee to take into consideration not only that his salary, when gold was at 150, was wholly inadequate to maintain the expense which for the interest of the country he ought to incur, but that he is now much more deprived of the means of meeting that expense by the great depreciation in the value of gold. It is really a thing which is very well deserving the attention of any persons who look at the relations between this country and the United States, and who know how strong the real feeling in the United States is, as I believe, in favour of this country. There may be, as we all know, on the surface, storms, hard words, ill-natured language, but you may depend upon it that under those hard words, storms, and ill-natured language, there is an undercurrent of good feeling which tends to make the United States draw closer and closer to this country, and to feel in the prosperity and welfare of this country a kindred interest, for they know and feel that, in time to come, those of the Anglo-Saxon race may have to stand shoulder to shoulder in support of civilisation and progress; and it is greatly our interest, and it ought to be our pride and our desire, not to damp that good feeling by discouraging the disposition of the influential persons in the United States to look upon the British Minister as the representative of a kindred nation, and of a Sovereign whom they justly respect and admire.

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1750. I am ready to put before the Committee as my own, a plan which, though it may not provide promotion for the junior members of our service, may improve their position very considerably. It is this: that an attaché, instead of waiting for an allowance till he has served four years, should at the end of two years receive a salary of 100*l.*; at the end of four years he should as now receive his commission as third secretary, with a salary as now of 150*l.* a year in the aggregate. When a third secretary had served for five years, I would give him 50*l.* a year more, making the aggregate salary 200*l.* a year as long as he remained thereafter a third secretary. I would give a second secretary, if he had served five years as such, an addition of 50*l.* a year to his salary, and after he had served ten years as such, I would make that 50*l.* 100*l.*, wholly irrespective of any other salary that he might be drawing at the time. I would give a secretary of legation after five years' service as a secretary of legation, 100*l.* a year beyond his salary, irrespective of whatever salary he might be receiving. I would go still further, and to any member of our service, secretary of embassy, secretary of legation, second and third secretary, or attaché, who at Petersburg, at Constantinople, at Teheran, at Athens, at Pekin, or at Yeddo, should obtain a colloquial knowledge of the country in which he was living, so that he might be able to converse with the people without the assistance of an interpreter for all ordinary purposes, I would give, so long as he remained in the country, irrespective of any other allowance that he might be drawing, a sum of 100*l.* a year.

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1763. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] It is generally understood that there is a department in foreign post offices connected with the police?—There is supposed to be a department which goes by the general designation of the *bureau noir*.

1764. It is not at all an unusual thing, but it is one of the precautions of their system, to open letters?—Of course I cannot say that of my own knowledge, but my impression is so strong on the subject, that I never send through a foreign post office a thing that I do not wish them to read. If it were a thing that I should wish them to read, and which I did not like to say otherwise, I would send it through the post office.

1799. *Mr. Holms.*] I see that Sir Augustus Paget, in his report to Lord

Clarendon, states that the staff has plenty of work. "It must be remembered, that at the Florence Mission there is, in addition to the ordinary chancery work, a far greater amount of consular and notarial business to be attended to, than at almost any other mission, owing to the vast number of British subjects residing in, or passing through, this capital." I presume that that work is not done for nothing?—It is done for nothing; there are no fees taken at any legation.

1837. *Viscount Barrington.*] It is hardly possible for you to do with a smaller staff of messengers than now?—We mean to try to do with 12, just, as I say, in order to meet the pressure upon us for economy; but I feel certain myself, that if any trouble were to occur in Europe we should not only have to pay the messengers whom we had reduced, their pensions, but to re-create the original number.

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MALMESBURY.

674. *Chairman.*] It has been suggested, that the examination should be one of open competition. Should you be disposed to approve of that?—I should not approve of that for the Foreign Office, however desirable it might be for some others. I think that it is of a peculiar character, and that men of a peculiar position, and of a certain class of education, should be appointed to the diplomatic service.

675. Mr. Hammond has expressed an opinion, that gentlemen of a higher class of life are preferable for that service to those who would come in under open competition. Is that your Lordship's opinion?—That is the case, certainly, in Europe.

676. You think that the service abroad would be disparaged if it were not supplied from that class in the higher diplomatic branches?—I think so.

680. I do not think that salaries are too high, in consequence of the extraordinary rise in prices within the last 10 or 15 years abroad. I think that the prices abroad in Europe must be certainly 30 or 40 per cent. more than they were 20 years ago.

681. Have you a general familiarity with the state of things abroad from personal knowledge?—I have been abroad every year for 40 years.

682. And that is the result of your own experience?—Yes.

697. Are there occasionally matters in which, if the business was not conducted very honourably, very large sums of money might be obtained by the disclosure of information?—Yes.

698. And therefore it is essential that a gentleman in the service should have a high sense of honour?—Yes, and a strong *esprit de corps* for the honour of the service.

718. *Viscount Barrington.*] Am I to gather from what your Lordship has just stated, that you are of opinion that the diplomatic service ought to be looked upon as a profession?—I think certainly it should; there is really a great deal of technical matter to be learnt, besides experience of foreign countries and foreign courts.

720. I think I understood your Lordship to say that you did not consider the salaries were too high?—Certainly not too high.

721. And do you think that the salaries of the junior members ought to be increased according to their length of service?—I think it would be fair, and certainly desirable.

722. Your Lordship is aware that under the present system, supposing that the chief is absent from his mission, a reduction is made in his salary during that time, and a proportionate increase is given to the secretary who remains there; have you an opinion that any advantage would accrue to the diplomatic service by a change being made in that respect?—I think that to fine the principal in that matter is a most clumsy way of paying the



secretaries of legation; the object of the former Committees of your House was positively to encourage the heads of missions to visit England every year; and you would find in the Report of the last Committee on this subject that they say that no impediment should be placed in the way of that. Well, it becomes a very great impediment to a man who has no private fortune of his own to have to pay what on the average is 4*l.* a day during the time of his two months' (60 days) leave; the consequence is, to my knowledge, that many of them do not avail themselves, because they cannot afford to avail themselves, of their leave of absence.

725. There is one small mission in Germany, Stuttgart, which might perhaps be suppressed, or rendered more economical by having only a chargé d'affaires at it; but I do not know any other that strikes me.

741. *Viscount Sandon.*] Then with regard to the South American missions, is it your impression that the interests of this country have suffered from our maintaining those missions on a lower scale than those of other countries?—Yes, I think they certainly have.

742. The interests that we have with those countries are principally commercial interests?—Yes.

743. And those commercial interests have been growing with great rapidity during the last few years?—Yes.

744.—Therefore your Lordship's impression would be that the commercial interests of a country would be better protected in fact by having the missions on a larger scale than those are?—Yes, I think so.

745. I have heard complaints from American ministers here of the low rate at which they were paid.

746. Because it impeded their showing and receiving hospitality on the same footing as their diplomatic brothers?—Yes.

757. Very often transactions are going on of which the outer public are unaware, which are of vital importance to this country in preventing the probabilities of war at the very beginning?—Yes, and which require the greatest secrecy, or else they would not succeed.

758. Therefore we could not judge of the advantage of the diplomatic service to the country merely from the transactions that come to light in the public press?—No, certainly not.

759. *Mr. Arthur Russell.*] With regard to that last question, would you not say that if one war were prevented in a generation this country would have an ample return for the money expended in the diplomatic service?—Certainly it would tenfold.

763. *Mr. Cartwright.*] In the event of a fusion of the diplomatic and consular services, do not you think that the block which at present exists in the diplomatic service would be transferred into the consular branch?—No, I think not; you would lighten the diplomatic service, and, supposing the consular service to remain as it is, there are no candidates for the consular service analogous to the secretaries; you would merely fill up the vacancies in the consular service by putting secretaries in, instead of taking persons from the population at large.

764. Then your Lordship is not aware that the vice consuls enter the service with aspirations for, or with a view to, promotion generally, but you think that they are content to keep that post, and do not look to advancement?—I cannot say what they hope and expect, but many of them, who make very good vice consuls, would not do as consuls.

767. Your Lordship, in 1861, expressed a very decided opinion in favour of clerks being appointed at the greater missions?—I think that, in the larger missions, it would be useful to have an assistant clerk to keep the archives, who should be a permanent clerk.

774. *Mr. Holms.*] Are the American ministers, according to your

experience, as well received at European courts as our own ministers?—I should not like the Americans to read my answer, but I do not think they are.

1192. *Mr. William Lowther.*] I daresay you know cases of outsiders being taken and made heads of missions; without specifying them exactly, do you think that on the whole they have been successful as heads of missions?—No, I do not think so; my experience is against it.

1237. *Mr. Otway.*] Your Lordship's opinion is that it is necessary, in justice, that some alteration should be made with regard to the leave of ministers, that they should be allowed to take four months, two years' leave, at one time?—Yes; cumulative leave of absence.

1244. *Mr. Cameron.*] I believe you have stated that you do not approve of doing away with the missions in Denmark and Sweden?—Certainly I do not.

1245. Although of course we all hope that such a thing may never happen, it is still a possibility that some day or other we may be engaged in a war with Russia?—It certainly would be against our interests not to be represented at both those courts. It has happened within the last century three or four times, that Sweden and Denmark have been on opposite sides, and each requires a separate minister.

1246. And if we were to go to war with Russia, and we had no representative in Denmark and Sweden, while the Russian Government had representatives there, I suppose there is no doubt that our position as a naval Power in the Baltic would suffer?—It is of the utmost importance that we should be well represented in those countries.

RIGHT HON. SIR H. G. ELLIOT, G.C.B.

820. *Chairman.*] On the question of leave, have you anything to say to the Committee?—I do not exactly see why there should be the distinction that there is between the chiefs and the juniors with regard to running two years' leave into one. I do not see why we should be limited to one year's leave, or why we should be deprived of all time allowance for our journeys.

824. What you would suggest is, that the heads of missions should be treated on the same footing as the secretaries in respect of leave?—Yes, I think it would be but fair.

831. Has there been a change in the character and nature of diplomacy since you joined the service, in the way of its becoming more of a close and definite profession?—It is much more a close profession in this sense, that since the examinations were established, we have lost what I think was the advantage of having a number of young men coming into it, who did perfectly well for all the copying work and the earlier branches, but who had no intention of going on to the higher branches; the result being that the promotion among those who meant to make it their profession was at that time much more rapid than at present.

838. Your view would be to test a man's attainments in the profession?—Yes, to test his attainments in the profession, and if possible to get rid of some of the incompetent men that you must have entering all professions. I would try to make that examination as real as possible, and not give men time as at present to come home and prepare for it, which means to cram.

852. Have you ever considered the question of the partial amalgamation or interchange of service between the consular and the diplomatic services?—I do not think that the amalgamation would be advantageous; I should not like to debar the Secretary of State from the right of taking a man who in the consular service had shown himself to be a very capable person,

and putting him into the diplomatic service; and I should be very sorry indeed to see any rule drawn which should prevent him from doing so, but I do not think that it would be advantageous to make it a practice. The lines of duty in the two services are very distinct, and it would not be advantageous to have a consul trying to bring himself into notice as a political writer.

857. You suggested that there might be a reduction amongst the diplomatic staff, you think, in the subordinate departments; do you think that that could be carried out?—I think that the best way of preventing a block is by keeping your junior staff as low as it possibly can be kept, being efficient at the same time; and certainly my experience would lead me to believe that at a great many missions the staff is higher than is required if the men are kept really at work.

866. Do you think that it would be possible to have a sort of flying staff to go about where there was extra work?—I should think it would be an economical arrangement, and an equally efficient one, if they were to have enough men at the Foreign Office to be able to detach some for special services. They might calculate that there are so many missions at which one man will be absent for a time, and they might provide persons that could be spared from the office to go to those missions when necessary.

867. You agree, I understand, that there is a decided block in the service?—There is no question about that. The younger men now in the service have a prospect of being ministers by the time that they are about 65.

869. Do you think it for the advantage of the public service that a man can only attain one of the chief posts at that age?—No, I think it a great disadvantage, because if you happen to get in your service a man of at all exceptional or superior abilities, you lose his services during the best years of his life; when I say "lose his services," I mean you employ him in a very subordinate position. I think that the seniority system has been carried a great deal too far in that respect.

875. I do think that the second secretaries, and secretaries of legation should be better paid, and more particularly if you were to make a severe examination.

876. You would combine that, I understand, with a reduction of the number of the public servants?—I should gradually reduce the number, and pay each of the second secretaries a great deal more than they have at present.

909. I think that the telegraph is very far from facilitating business. I think that it makes business much more difficult than it was formerly.

911. Speaking from your own experience of other large missions, do you think it would be a good plan to have a permanent officer in charge of the records in the nature of a clerk?—I think that in the large missions it would enable you to diminish your diplomatic staff if you had a permanent officer.

914. If you allowed a minister 300*l.* a year for a private secretary, with the understanding that he is not to take anybody belonging to the embassy, I think then you might reduce your permanent staff.

920. Do not you think that the fact that secretaries of legations are changed so much from one post to another, interferes with that knowledge of the documents in the chancery which would otherwise be possessed by the secretaries of legation?—I think it is a very great advantage that they should be frequently changed. Occasionally you put a minister to inconvenience from having a new hand brought in, but as far as the service is concerned I am sure it is a gainer by a man getting experience in as many courts as possible.

945. There seems to be an idea that the use of the telegraph diminishes the work of the head of a mission; do you think that it increases it or diminishes it?—I am sure it increases it; I do not think that that admits of a question.

1002. At first it sounds as if it would be unfair upon the vice consuls to give diplomatists the consulships that these other gentlemen may be expecting; but, in point of practice, the large majority of consuls are not appointed from the vice consuls, but from outsiders altogether.

1003. Have you thought whether it would be a good thing to throw open the post of attachés to open competition?—Yes, I have often thought of that, and I think that it would not answer at all.

1015. I think what you want is to keep your diplomatic servants as English as you can keep them; the tendency of all of us, from living abroad, is to lose our English feelings; we really do not know on many subjects what the feelings are in England.

1028. In the profession generally I do not think there would be any dislike to more selection. I am quite sure that the good men would like it.

1046. I should personally like to keep the staffs at their present number, and if the House of Commons would recommend the older ones who have served long being pensioned off liberally, then the difficulty would be got over.

1266. I do not hold to a severe second examination for a man who really has distinguished himself before he came into the service, but I think it much more essential that the general severe examination should take place at a later period than at the first entry.

1293. I suggested, in order to get rid of the present block, that diplomatic servants should be invited to volunteer for consulates; I would not force them to go to them, but in order to give greater power of selection, I suggested that for the future the young men entering the diplomatic service should be told that till they rose to a certain rank (which I think should be that of secretary of legation) they were all liable to be drafted into the consular service, if the Secretary of State thought they were better fitted for that than for the diplomatic service.

1295. Suppose your suggestion carried out, what guarantee have we that in the course of a few years we should not have another block in the service?—I have proposed, and insisted very strongly on the opinion that I hold on the subject, that the staffs should be kept in the lowest possible state compatible with efficiency.

1321. There are certain prizes in the consular department, as in every other department?—I should be very sorry to deprive the consuls of their prizes; I think they earn them, and deserve them.

1389. I certainly think that it would not be good economy to go very far in reducing small missions, for you never know from what quarters troubles may arise that may produce the greatest complications; and the efforts of every English representative, in whatever part of the world he is, whether in a large embassy or at a small mission, are directed to the one object of preventing anything that may disturb the public peace; that is what we all have in view. As far as the public is concerned, the diplomatic service is only known by two things, by their great successes, or by their failures; by their success in carrying through a great and well-known negotiation, or by their failure in preventing a war; and with regard to that, I do not think that it is much more fair to say that we are of no use because we do not always prevent a war, than it is to say that doctors are of no use because they do not always prevent people from dying. In the small missions there are constantly questions arising,

in which, by the personal influence of a British representative, a misunderstanding is cleared up, or a claim is satisfied, which if not taken in time would very likely lead to a serious complication hereafter; and there is no country in which that may not happen. The smallest kingdom in Europe is Greece; but a rupture between Greece and Turkey, even if it did not involve us in a war, would produce a disturbance which would certainly cost us a great deal more than any saving you might effect in reducing your legation there. What is done by our representatives in the way I have alluded to cannot be generally known, but it ought, I think, to be seriously taken into consideration before too many missions are suppressed.

MR. F. B. ALSTON.

2009. *Mr. Rylands.*] I presume, from your statement (which, no doubt, is in every particular strictly correct), that at the time when Mr. Murray handed over his agencies to you, it was done as a matter of personal friendship, and that there was no payment made to him for goodwill, or in compensation for the loss of his profits?—There was no payment.

MR. JOHN WILLIAM KAYE.

2063. Will you state what is the course of business, and what it has been since 1858, with reference to Persian matters?—Now the Persian Minister at Teheran is immediately under the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he addresses his communications to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but he sends duplicates of his letters addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which relate to Indian subjects, under flying seal to the Secretary of State for India, and we read them, and peruse them, and take note of them.

2065. *Chairman.*] In point of fact, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs officially consults the Secretary of State for India upon matters connected with our Persian relations?—Yes, in so far as they relate to Oriental questions.

2066. *Mr. Eastwick.*] Are there not many important questions coming under the immediate cognizance and direction of the Indian Government, but having a direct bearing upon our Persian diplomacy, which in the existing state of things can only be decided by Her Majesty's Government, after correspondence between the Foreign Office and the India Office, and does not that occasion considerable delay?—There are a great number of such questions, particularly at the present time.

2075. Supposing that the superintendence of our relations with Persia should be re-transferred to the India Office, are you of opinion that it should be placed under the Secretary of State directly, or under the Viceroy?—Most decidedly under the Secretary of State for India.

2079. Have any opinions been expressed on the subject by the present Viceroy?—Yes, the present Viceroy has expressed his opinion to the effect, that the complications are such that he finds it difficult to conduct the business of the Persian Gulf at all.

2080. In point of fact, our policy in Afghanistan and our policy in Persia have a great number of commingling points?—No doubt they have, particularly all the boundary questions. Owing to the two different sets of officers that are now controlling these affairs, there is necessarily considerable antagonism which would not, I think, happen if the whole were under one controlling head, whether that one controlling head were the Foreign Office or the India Office.

2081. I think that the same authorities that control the affairs of Persia should also control the affairs of the Persian Gulf. If not there must be complications, and it is a very natural thing that each controlling power or

authority should support that power which is under his immediate protection, because, for one reason, he understands its affairs a great deal better than anyone else.

2092. Do you consider that the chief appointments of the Persian Mission ought to be given to officers of Indian experience?—I think that they ought, decidedly; India must be a very good training school for the purpose, considering the number of different countries to which Indian officers go, many of them going quite on the borders of Persia; and they must have much more knowledge of Persian affairs than an officer who may go from Austria or from Prussia.

2102. *Mr. Richard Shaw.*] Are we to understand that the Foreign Office, since the Persian Mission has been under its control, has not selected Indian officers for that service?—Yes, Indian officers have been appointed by the Foreign Office.

2103. I understood rather from you that the Indian officers had been excluded from the Persian service?—No.

2108. *Mr. Butler-Johnstone.*] In point of fact, the double Government does not cause much delay; you get very rapid communication between the two offices?—No doubt.

2112. You mentioned something about English officers being employed by the Shah of Persia. Is that question settled?—No, that question is not settled; and there is a reference being made now to the Shah's Government as to the terms.

2122. I think the reason why a difference of opinion exists is, that our Minister at Teheran is very anxious to support the Persian Government, and is not sufficiently well acquainted with the effect that supporting the Persian Government in a particular question would have upon those states under the protection of the Indian Government, and therefore he backs up his own man; our officers, on the other hand, back up their men; and I think the reason why each backs up his man is because he is ignorant of the case of the other man.

2127. *Mr. Baring.*] Taking into consideration the weight that some Persian affairs have with reference to European affairs, you do not wish to take the responsibility of the entire control of Persian affairs?—No; we should consult the Foreign Office in any matter where we thought it expedient; we should not do away entirely with the control of the Foreign Office in Persia.

2128. *Chairman.*] Does not a great deal of your objection arise from the fact that the head of the mission in Persia is a European politician, and not an Indian politician?—I should like to see the head of the mission, and all under him, men of Indian experience; but that is not my sole objection. One of my principal objections is, that the present system involves an extraordinary anomaly, which is this: that for all purposes of control and government of our relations with Persia, it is said at the present time that the affairs of the mission are more European than they are Asiatic or Indian; but for purposes of payment, it is stated that they are more Indian than they are European. I say that those who have the control over these relations, and can govern them as they like, are those which should pay the bulk of the money.

2129. Then, as I understand, it comes to this, that if the English Exchequer was to pay the 12,000*l.*, as the English Exchequer pays the 3,000*l.*, you would be very much more satisfied with the state of things than now?—Yes, but not wholly satisfied.

2137. *Mr. Otway.*] But if the Persian Government came into collision with the Indian Government on any one of these questions, of necessity it would involve a European question also?—Indirectly, it might, in some.

2138. Persia has representatives at the courts of all the Great Powers, has she not?—Yes.

2139. She would therefore be able to interest these Powers in her cause?—Yes.

2140. I think the last war was concluded by the mediation of France?—It was concluded at Paris. I do not know to what extent, if any, France was concerned in the matter.

2145. You mentioned something about the difficulty of communication between the Viceroy of India and our Minister in Persia; but still in case of an emergency the Viceroy of India does not hesitate to address what you might almost call instructions to him?—I think the Viceroy of India complains that he cannot give instructions; that though he can communicate and state his views, they are not always acted upon, and they fall far short of instructions.

2146. Still it is within your own knowledge, is it not, that the Viceroy does express his views, by telegraph and otherwise, to the Minister at Persia?—Yes.

2147. And the Minister in Persia, as a public servant discharging his duty, would attend to the opinions of the Viceroy?—If they are consistent with the views of the Foreign Office.

2159. *Chairman.*] The Minister at Teheran, I understood you to say, sends copies of all letters which concern Indian affairs through the Foreign Office under flying seal, and they are forwarded to the India Office?—Yes.

2170. *Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke.*] Have you any experience of the working of the competition of your civil servants?—Yes.

2171. Sufficient to justify you in giving an opinion at all as to whether such a scheme would be satisfactory for the diplomatic service?—Not having been in India since the new rules came into force, I cannot judge very well, but I find that the opinion generally of the civil service (it may be prejudice) is not very much in favour of the present plan.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

2182. *Mr. Eastwick.*] Do you think it desirable that the officers who fill appointments in Persia should be Indian officers, or would officers of the regular diplomatic and consular services do as well; at all events after a time?—I think that officers of the Indian service are better. I think that they are better qualified for employment in Persia from the circumstance of their being conversant with the manners of Orientals, and more scrupulous about offending Mahomedan prejudices. Besides, they would come to Persia with a certain knowledge of the language, and would take a real interest in the country, which is a very important consideration.

2186. Would you say that the Court of Persia approximates more to the Indian courts or to the European courts in customs and character?—The Court of Teheran is in reality of the same type as the Indian Courts, as the old Courts of Delhi and Lucknow, and the modern Courts of Cabul and Hyderabad. Certainly in Persia there is a refinement both in manners and language which does not exist in India; and there is also a tendency to imitate and to adopt European institutions. But as I said before, the type is decidedly Oriental, and there is this essential difference between the Persian Court and other courts, that at Teheran there is nothing like representation, or any approach to constitutional government, or even what we call in Europe "public opinion;" there is nothing but the individual and the irresponsible will of the sovereign. So that the duties of an envoy are very different in Persia from what they are in any European court. An envoy in an European court, when engaged in any difficult negotiation, naturally and very properly brings the influence of his government to bear

upon public opinion or upon the advisers of the Crown ; but in Persia he must be mainly dependent for success upon his own personal influence with the sovereign.

2188. You held your appointment as minister in Persia for a comparatively short period ; can you give any reasons for having retired so speedily ? —In the year 1859, when the relations with Persia were transferred from the Foreign Office to the India Office, I was invited to take charge of the Persian Mission. In the following year the mission was re-transferred to the Foreign Office, and I tendered my resignation. I tendered my resignation because the conditions on which I had taken office were not continued, and because by the transfer the position and the duties of the mission were very considerably altered.

2190. *Chairman.*] The reasons under which I acted amount to this, that the system of the India Office, and the system of the Foreign Office, are very different. Under the India Office, an officer appointed to such a position as mine in Persia would be allowed a very considerable liberty of action. Having received his general instructions, it would then be left to his own individual responsibility to carry them out, by personal management and influence. Under the Foreign Office, on the other hand, he would be required implicitly to obey the rules and traditions of that office, which, as I have before explained, are hardly, I think, applicable to an Oriental court, although very well adapted to European diplomacy ; and he would receive specific instructions on each separate question. Also, under the transfer, there was a change in the *personnel* of the establishment, and there was especially an abolition of the system of making presents, which, on accepting office, I had made a *sine quâ non*, as I knew it to be a recognised Oriental institution, and as I considered it to be absolutely indispensable for the acquisition and the retention of an influence at the court, as indeed is felt and acted on by the Russian Government to the present day. I may also add, as a matter of fact, that under the liberal system of the India Office, which authorised my making presents on my own discretion, I had acquired a very considerable personal influence with the Shah, which certainly tended very much to facilitate the conduct of public business, and which, if any political emergency had occurred, might have been of very great national importance.

2191. Did the power of bestowing presents contribute materially to that influence ?—Very greatly, indeed most essentially.

2196. Certainly, the principal and important business of the mission refers to India ; but there occasionally arise European questions of some importance. I should say myself, from what I remember, that at least three-fourths of the despatches sent from Teheran are connected, directly or indirectly, with India and Indian interests.

2197. And those affairs are the affairs of the greatest importance ?—Undoubtedly ; those are the essential duties of the mission.

2205. I am clearly of opinion that there is very great inconvenience, and not only inconvenience but injury, to the public interest from a diversity of authority in conducting the relations with Persia and her immediate neighbours ; for that diversity of authority not only delays and complicates business, but also it begets an antagonism of views, and even of interests, which is very deplorable. For example, at the present day, if we may judge from the tone of the Indian press, all the proceedings of Persia in reference to the Persian Gulf, or to the Eastern frontier, are looked upon in India with suspicion and disfavour, as opposed to the interests of the states contiguous with India, and with which India is more immediately connected ; whereas, if our Eastern relations were all equally under the Indian authorities (either at home or in India), it would



be understood that the Viceroy was just as careful of the rights and interests of Persia as of her neighbours the Arabs, or Affghaus, or Belooches. It must be apparent that this constant abuse of Persia, which takes place in the Indian press, must produce a very bad effect in the country, and does, I have no doubt, very seriously cripple our minister's action.

2209. Are you aware that there are questions now of great importance relating to the frontier of India and Persia, and to the Persian Gulf, the decision of which ought to rest entirely with the India Office, and in which references to the Foreign Office occasion delay and embarrassment?—There are pending matters of much consequence in reference to a disputed frontier in Sistan and Mekran, and also as to the claims of the Shah to certain islands in the Persian Gulf. I think it would be much better that all matters relating to the eastern frontiers of Persia should be dealt with by one authority.

2217. The only actual war that we had with Persia was while the mission was under an officer brought up in European courts?—The only actual war that we had was during Sir Charles Murray's tenure of office; but there was a suspension of relations, and a hostile occupation of Karrack, while Sir John McNeill was Minister, who was originally an Indian officer.

2218. As a member of the Indian Council, I would ask you whether you think it reasonable that the whole of the charges in Persia should be borne by the Indian Exchequer?—I must say I think it unreasonable that all the expenses should be borne by one department, and all the control should be exercised by another department. It seems to me that that only can be justified on the assumption that the interests to be guarded in our relations with Persia are exclusively Indian, while the Foreign Office is alone competent to conduct those relations: and this I take to be a complete fallacy.

2223. *Mr. Otway.*] How far do you think that the progress of Russia in Central Asia, and the increased communications of Persia with European courts, which has taken place since you were there, would modify your view as to our diplomatic representation there being under the Foreign Office?—I should say that the advance of Russia in Central Asia is a *raison de plus*, since it makes Persia and the Persian interests of very much more importance to us, in consequence of the increased pressure upon India.

2227. I conclude that if a great difference arose between Great Britain and Russia on questions in Central Asia, those differences would have to be considered and settled by the action of the Foreign Office, not by that of the India Office?—Certainly, but the local interests in Persia, as connected with that advance of Russia, would be decidedly more Indian than European.

4682. *Mr. Eastwick.*] It has been stated in answer to Question 3956, that the progress of Russia in Central Asia tends to throw our relations with Persia, and the questions affecting Persia generally, more and more every day into the pale of European diplomacy, and therefore renders it more and more desirable to keep Persia under the Foreign Office; what is your view with regard to that?—The progress of Russia in Central Asia, and especially the operations which have been now commenced on the eastern shores of the Caspian, seems to me to bear directly upon India, and only to affect England through India. All political relations, therefore, which arise from that advance or are connected with it—the relations with Persia included—become, I conceive, Indian rather than European; I may give the Committee an illustration of what I mean by a reference to matters now in progress. For some years the Indian Government, as is

well known, pursued a policy in Central Asia of rigid non-interference, a policy to which the by-word was attached of "masterly inactivity." Recent events, however, have forced us from this policy of isolation and obliged us to open relations in many new quarters. The Umballah conference and our friendly intercourse with the Court of Cabul was one of the first results of this change. More recently the Viceroy of India has despatched a mission for purposes of trade and general amity to the Court of Kashgar; and he now proposes to send an officer to Herat to co-operate with a commissioner from England in arbitrating between the Persians and Affghans in Sistan; and if he should see fit, in the interests of India, to open relations with Kokhand or Bokhara, or Khiva, no one doubts his competence to do so without previous reference to England. In Persia, also, we are showing an awakened interest by undertaking to arbitrate between the Persians and Affghans in Sistan and to superintend the delimitation of a line of frontier in Mekran, and further by resuming the practice, or offering to resume the practice, of furnishing officers from India for the Persian army. All this then shows, I submit, that the tendency of Russian conquest in Central Asia is not only to necessitate an increased activity on the part of the Indian Government, but also to bring our relations with the countries intermediate between Russia and India within the reach of Indian rather than of European diplomacy; and when I make this distinction I would beg to explain to the Committee that I intend a distinction of character rather than of locality. By Indian diplomacy I do not mean the mere local functions of the Foreign Department in Calcutta, but I mean that general view of our Imperial policy which regards the safety, honour, and interest of the British Empire in the East as of fully equal value with the balance of power in Europe. This doctrine, as far as my experience goes, is not recognised, or even understood, at the Foreign Office.

4691. I may mention further, in connection with the subject, that formerly there no doubt was a disposition—during the period of the prevalence of the non-interference policy—to discourage, as much as possible, all correspondence between Persia and India, and we are in reality paying the penalty of that over-caution at present. In 1863, Her Majesty's Government resolved to adopt a modification—in one important particular—of our position as arbiter under the Treaty of Paris between the Persians and Affghans. This modification was duly notified at the time to the government of Persia, but was not notified to India, and the consequence is that considerable embarrassment is felt at present. Had the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan been under one head at that period, whether that head might be the Foreign Office or the Indian Office, this cause of embarrassment would not have arisen.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD HENRY, EARL OF DERBY.

2263. *Chairman.*] Were you very much beset with applications for nominations to the diplomatic service?—No, and that struck me as a rather remarkable fact, considering the great anxiety which seems to pervade the public, with regard to getting admission to most branches of the public service.

2270. Abstractedly, I understand you to prefer the Foreign Office system of entrance rather than the diplomatic service system?—I think that the Foreign Office system of entrance has worked very well. The doubt that has arisen in my mind as to applying the principle of limited competition is merely this: I am not quite sure whether you would have competitors. Of course competition, if competitors do not come forward, reduces itself to simple nomination, and that not the best

kind of nomination, because the minister appointing in that case feels himself less responsible.

2272. A good deal has been said to us about the social position which it is said to be necessary that the gentlemen nominated to the diplomatic service should occupy, and that it is necessary, therefore, that they should be selected more or less from one class of society; is that your opinion, or do you think that it might be thrown open?—I think that it is very essential that they should be, in every sense of the word, gentlemen; I mean by that, men of refined manners and cultivated minds.

2273. There has been a suggestion that a university degree should be rather a qualification for a nomination; has that ever been suggested to you, or considered by you?—No, and I should not be inclined to favour that suggestion.

2275. Then I think I collect on the whole, that you are prepared to say that the present system of admission is, from your experience, a satisfactory mode, and you would not be disposed to make a change in it?—I can only judge the tree by its fruit. I should say that, taking it upon an average, the *personnel* of the diplomatic service stands decidedly high; there are many men in it whom I should consider, with the experience which they must necessarily have acquired in the discharge of their duty, quite fitted for the highest post in the service.

2279. What was the doctrine which you held as Secretary of State in regard to promotion? did you look upon it as if there was a claim to promotion by seniority, or that it was a system of selection for the chiefships?—I hold that any system is unsatisfactory which does not take into account both the principle of seniority and the principle of selection. I cannot conceive anything more unworkable than a system absolutely confined to seniority. In point of fact that never has been the practice in the diplomatic service, or, so far as I know, in any service as regards the higher grades. On the other hand, I think that other things being equal, seniority should be considered in the case of two men who are equal or even nearly equal: I should undoubtedly prefer the claims of the senior.

2280. Selection with due regard to seniority?—Yes; that regard to seniority, let me add, becoming less in proportion as you rose to higher grades.

2282. And with regard to the introduction of gentlemen from without the profession into the higher ranks in it, had you any occasion, during your chiefship, to exercise that duty?—I did not do so. I may say that that is about the most difficult question, as connected with the service, that I know; and it is, perhaps, of all, the question which most admits of being argued on both sides. On the whole, I think it is best to leave it in this way: that, as a general rule, men who are actually in the service should be entitled to look forward to the higher posts in the service; but it should be clearly understood that the power rests with the Secretary of State to appoint an outsider if, for any special reason, he thinks fit to do so. I would make appointments within the service the rule, and appointments from outside the exception.

2283. Then I rather understand, from what you say, that you consider that the block, as it is called, in the service, is of a temporary character, and is more or less unavoidable, and does not call for any immediate or urgent remedy; is that your opinion?—Yes; that is my opinion. The remedy which it calls for is a very simple one; that is, not unduly to multiply the number of new appointments.

2294. You are not disposed to say that the salaries are more than adequate now, looking at that state of things?—No; unless you take an entirely different view of the functions of a diplomatist, and the social

position that he should hold, I do not think that you should reduce them. There are places where it is notorious no man can serve without trenching very considerably on his private income. Washington is a case in point.

2296. I should attach great importance to this; that English diplomatists should be in the same general position, and upon the same footing as those of other great European powers.

2299. Do you think that the American system compares advantageously with our system of having a regular profession?—No, I think that, other things being equal, a man does best the work which he has been trained and accustomed to do.

2301. Is the difference in salary more than compensated, in your Lordship's opinion, by the superior advantage of having a great officer of State representing the Crown in the great courts of Europe, or should you say that it was of equal advantage to the public service that this country should be represented by ministers plenipotentiary or by ambassadors?—I think that we ought to keep our establishments in that respect generally on the same footing as those of other Great Powers.

2304. We have been told that there is a hardship upon the chiefs of missions in the system of leave of absence, that those who are at a distant mission particularly can scarcely get the absence which is requisite really to keep them *au fait* with the state of things here, without sacrificing a considerable amount of their emoluments; has that point ever been considered by you, and have you ever had such complaints from the chiefs of missions?—No; I should look upon a demand of that kind simply as a demand in another form for an increased salary.

2305. The grievance reduces itself to this, that a post at a great distance from England is more disadvantageous than one near home; that is undoubtedly the case, and the remedy, I think, is to promote men from the less advantageous posts to the more advantageous posts, if they have done their duty in the former.

2312. My experience at the India Office did not extend over more than a twelvemonth.

2313.—The Persian question touches Home politics and Indian politics both?—Exactly so. Perhaps the strongest argument for transferring it to the Indian service is this—that it is a very out-of-the-way place, and requires, to fill it satisfactorily, acquaintance with Eastern languages and with Eastern habits, which you cannot generally expect to find among English diplomatists, and which you do often find among Indian public servants.

2315. Your opinion upon which you founded that change, in conjunction with Lord Malmesbury, I understand, is one which you still entertain?—I have no very strong opinion on the subject; but, on the whole, I am inclined to prefer the system which places Persia under the India Office. I may say that I did not attempt to move in the matter during the time when I was at the head of the Foreign Office, because the change that was made by Lord Malmesbury in 1858 was reversed by our successors in the year following, and it seemed to me that if there was that difference of opinion, it was better to go on with the system as I found it than to have perpetual changes made according to the opinion of every successive Government.

2320. Unlimited competition relieves a minister from all responsibility whatever.

2330. Is it your opinion that the present officers connected with missions abroad have their time fully occupied, and do as much work as could be reasonably expected from better paid servants?—As a general rule, I should say that they do as much work as can be expected from them.

2331. If I understand the honourable member, he is putting it in this way: Would it not be better to reduce the numbers, and to work every individual at all times up to his full powers?

2332. The difficulty of that is, that if in a time of calm you are working every man in the service up to the utmost that he can do, you would have no reserve force, so to speak, for a time of emergency.

2333. But do not you think that in a time of emergency there might be arrangements made under which clerks from the Foreign Office would be sent abroad to assist foreign missions?—In the diplomatic service a crisis arises so suddenly that I think it would be difficult as a rule to meet it in the way that the honourable member proposes.

2337. Does your Lordship think that it is for the public interest that men should go into the service with expectations not having reference to their future utility in connection with the service?—Yes, I do. You get their services as long as they are in the profession; you can make them work as you make any other men work; you get their services when they are wanted as juniors, and when they cease to be juniors they take themselves out of the way and do not increase the pressure for the higher posts.

2341. Other things being equal, secretaries should be promoted by seniority; but there should be an opportunity of rewarding, by promotion, any extraordinary merit?—Yes, I would wish to qualify that by one observation—namely, that I think when it comes to a question of the higher grades, such as ministers and ambassadors, I should attach very little importance indeed to seniority, and look almost exclusively to the ability of the individual.

2344. Applying generally the principle of selection in reference to the lower grades it would merely come to this, that they would rise according to the favour of their chiefs.

2346. I do not think that a man who shows marked ability or willingness to work, has any reason to complain of the present system; there are many ways in which he may be noticed or put in the way of promotion; one post is better than another; at one post there are more opportunities of educating yourself for the highest places than at another; and I think there would be a wish, as a rule, to put the best man, if you can find out who he is, in the place where he would have the greatest opportunity of training himself to future service.

2350. With regard to the transfer of secretaries of legation, according to the present system, they are transferred about every two years?—I think that is so.

2351. I should like to know whether you think that that is desirable for the public service?—It is better for the public service than for the individual. It comes very hardly upon the individual, because the expenses of removal are often heavy.

2357. The object of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is to get a number of men as well acquainted as possible with the state of diplomatic affairs throughout the world, and who, by means of that general and varied experience, shall be capable of filling the highest posts. I do not think that if you kept every man during the earlier grades of his service in the same place, they would have anything like the same general and varied experience when their turn came to fill the highest posts.

2360. You would not consider it necessary in special cases that an outsider should even have been trained in the diplomatic service?—No; I think that, other things being equal, it would be a great advantage that he should have been trained in the diplomatic service, but there may be cases in which, for special reasons, it may be desirable to send a man

outside the profession. In that case I should take very good care that he had under him a secretary thoroughly conversant with local details, and also with the general business of the office; else the ablest men without experience in the position would be likely to make blunders.

2367. I must repeat what I said just now, that it is one thing to have an experienced subordinate and to lean upon him, and another to have experience yourself. I should very much prefer that the head of the mission should have the knowledge himself, rather than that he should be compelled to refer to some one under him for it.

2370. But if the services were amalgamated, having the staff of the two combined, would there not be less difficulty in meeting emergencies, and, therefore, a greater practicability of reducing the staffs of foreign legations to a much lower state than they are in now?—I can hardly speak with confidence upon that point. I think that the work of a foreign mission, that is to say, the work of a diplomatist, and the work of the Foreign Office, are really essentially distinct; they are two separate occupations, although, no doubt, both have to deal with the same class of subjects.

2377. Do you not think that some similarity might be drawn between the position of the head of the Foreign Office and the position of the head of a mission abroad?—When I entered the Foreign Office first, as Under Secretary, in 1852, it had been thought expedient not once, I believe, but several times in recent years, to make a change of ministers abroad when a change of Government occurred at home, because it was thought that each Government represented a different policy, and ought to have to support its policy abroad those who were known to sympathise with it. My feeling on the subject then was that this was rather hard upon the professional members of the diplomatic service, and that if you were to have that system at all it would be fairer and better to make it general; indeed, to make it universal, and to tell a man who went into the permanent diplomatic service that he had nothing to look forward to beyond the post of secretary of legation or embassy, but that the missions were to be open to the competition of Parliamentary men. I thought that it would be better to have a general system of that kind rather than to have diplomatists rising in the professional service, and then liable to be removed from one place to another, or suspended altogether from employment, because of their supposed political views. But in the last twenty years there has been a very marked change. I think no one can fail to see that the tendency of the present time is very much to limit political patronage, and to encourage men to look for promotion in that branch of the service to which they belong merely as a reward of their professional activity and zeal. Now, I have no doubt that that is the better system of the two. I have no doubt that it is a better thing to have a trained permanent diplomatic service, the members of which expect promotion only as they perform their duty, and who are entirely unconnected with the change of parties at home. I never doubted that that would be the best state of things if it could be established. I did not believe that it was possible seventeen or eighteen years ago, and with the experience that we have had since that time, I do believe it to be possible.

2379. There are very important considerations in reference to the national policy which our Government may adopt in opposition to the views of a previous Government; and is it not necessary, under those circumstances, that the Government should be represented in important courts abroad by men who thoroughly sympathise with them in their line of policy?—No, I do not think it necessary.

2381. I think that their only wish would be to carry out their instruc-

tions, and the more entirely you separate them from party politics at home the more you put them into the positions of the officers of the army and navy, who have nothing to do with the opinions of the Government in power, but only to execute their orders, the more entirely you will divest them of even the suspicion of partiality.

2382. I gathered that on the whole you did not express any opinion that the salaries of the higher branches of the service were insufficient?—There are one or two cases where it may be a question whether they are not; Washington is a very strong case. I believe it to be the dearest capital in the world.

2396. You do not think that, with the other means of information at present possessed by us, attention is paid to details of foreign intelligence in the foreign missions that might be avoided?—If you mean to ask me whether, in the way of supplying news, the newspapers supply the place of official sources of information, I should say, certainly not; they are exceedingly useful, but they are not entirely accurate. It is quite possible that the earliest intelligence of what is passing may reach you in a newspaper, but then you can only take that as current report. The person who sends that is not in any way bound to guarantee it; he only tells it as what is currently believed and is probable. You expect your minister, or in his absence your secretary of legation, to take some pains to ascertain accurately not merely the fact that a report is current, but the accuracy of that report.

2403. Do you not think that, with regard to gaining a knowledge of public opinion, you can procure it with more correctness by looking at the general discussions in legislatures, and the general expressions of public opinion, than by reports communicated by heads of legations?—No doubt newspaper intelligence upon such subjects is exceedingly useful, but now that nearly every country has a parliament, life would not be long enough to read all the proceedings of all the various legislative bodies of Europe; and one great advantage of having a kind of précis of these things sent home is, that your attention is called to that which the minister resident considers important; and you are enabled to see in less time what is worth your reading. I should mention that it is a common practice now, when a speech of exceptional importance is made, to inclose it, cut from a newspaper; so that, after seeing the minister's abstract, you may, if you please, refer to the original document.

2405. But I suppose there is no doubt that any fact of great importance would be quite sure to come under the notice of the Foreign Office?—The honourable member must recollect that a very large part of the politics of continental Europe do not pass in public. If you were on the point of negotiating with some continental government, it would be a matter of very great importance to you to hear things which you are not likely to hear in public; for instance, if there is some intrigue going on which is very likely to upset the government with which you are seeking to negotiate.

2414. In evidence that we have had before the Committee on a former occasion, an opinion has been expressed that the effect of diplomacy was to preserve the peace of Europe. I should like to have your Lordship's opinion whether it has not been the case that diplomatic action has sometimes had an opposite tendency within your own experience?—I cannot answer that without supposing a state of things which it is hardly possible for me to suppose, in which diplomatic communications did not exist between European countries.

2423. I do not think that there is any necessity for keeping up a separate diplomatic establishment at Stuttgart.

2428. There can be no question, it seems to me, as to the inexpediency of maintaining a large diplomatic staff at Dresden.

2462. Some allusion has been made to the pay of the English Minister at Washington as being very much out of proportion to the pay of the President of the United States; does your Lordship know what the pay of the French ambassador in London is?—Not to speak with certainty, but I believe it is 10,000*l*.

2463. That, I suppose, is rather out of proportion to the pay of a Prime Minister in England?—Undoubtedly; that is double the pay of the Prime Minister.

2479. Some complaints have been made to me, but I may say that they turn not so much upon the question of reduction of salary during the time of leave as upon the shortness of the leave itself. I believe it is felt as a cause of complaint by ministers resident at distant stations that the two months' leave allowed them out of the twelve is hardly more than sufficient for their journey out and home. The remedy for that, as I conceive, if it requires a remedy, is that they should be allowed to throw together two years' leave into one. As a matter of fact, I believe that has been done sometimes in special cases, but I confess that I can see no reason why that alteration should not be made general, subject, of course, to the discretion of the Secretary of State.

2481. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] I see that very large items have been, at different times, spent for what are called special embassies and special missions?—These special missions are merely international courtesies, and I cannot deny that they are international courtesies of rather a costly kind. With regard to the question of how far it is right that public money should be spent upon matters of public pomp and show, that is entirely a question of argument, and not of evidence.

2490. I have no hesitation in saying, if I am asked as to the principle on which appointments should be made, that I think, as a general rule in the diplomatic profession as in every other, it is a good thing that a man should begin at the bottom and work his way regularly upwards. At the same time I do not say that I would absolutely exclude, on the contrary, I have said that I would not absolutely exclude those who are called outsiders, that is to say, men who have made for themselves a position and a reputation for their knowledge of business in other occupations. There may be cases where it is desirable to employ such men in the diplomatic profession, and I think it is very desirable that no rule should be laid down which should absolutely exclude them. At the same time that I say that, I think that such cases should be the exception and not the general rule.

2500. Would you say that the pressure to get into the consular service is greater than that to get into the diplomatic service?—On the whole I should.

2513. Without referring to an individual case, I should say that I consider it absolutely essential that the Secretary of State should have the power of judging whether it is or is not desirable, in the public interest, to re-employ a diplomatist who for the time is out of employment.

2516. I would frame the test examination or the competitive examination, whichever it is to be, in such a manner as to admit the largest number possible of those who have received a good general education, as that term is understood in England. I think that the special knowledge may be acquired and may be tested at a later stage.

2521. I think that a university education in itself proves very little. I think that honours taken at the university prove at any rate a certain amount of ability and aptitude for study and for affairs; but I do not think that it would be desirable to exclude, directly or indirectly, from



the chance of entering the service those who from whatever cause may not have passed through the university.

2524. I do not think that it is very material whether you find a house for your minister at the public expense, or whether you make him a certain allowance and leave him to find it for himself; but certainly I cannot say that there is any sound reason why the one rule should be in force at one capital and the other at another.

2535. During the time that I was at the Foreign Office the retirements and deaths, taken together, were 13, and the number of new attachés appointed by me was four. Therefore, if there is an overcrowding in the profession, I am not responsible for it.

2546. *Mr. Frederick Walpole.*] May I ask you whether generally special requirements at one place abroad do not involve pressure at another, and whether special requirements abroad do not also involve pressure at the Foreign Office at home?—The latter part of the question I should have no hesitation in answering in the affirmative.

2548. *Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke.*] A suggestion made by Mr. Grant Duff before the Committee of 1861, was that "the Civil Service Commissioners shall once a year hold an examination, open to all British subjects who are desirous of entering the diplomatic service; that the Civil Service Commissioners should then certify to the Foreign Secretary the names of the 12 candidates who have distinguished themselves most highly in such examination, and that from these 12 the Foreign Secretary shall select the persons who are to be appointed to attachéships during the ensuing 12 months?"

2549. I think the objection is, that out of those 12 you will turn some 8 or 9, or perhaps 10, into the world with what they will consider a very legitimate grievance.

2552. Does your Lordship happen to know the system that prevails at the *Ecole Polytechnique* in France?

2553. I believe it is almost that scheme, namely, that among a certain group of persons so pronounced eligible, the Government select a certain number, and the others go into the civil professions?—I admit that a plan like that would exclude all very stupid and incompetent persons, and to that extent it would be a gain.

2554. Your Lordship is not disposed to think, on other grounds, that it would be a good system to adopt?—I have a very decided opinion that if open competition, to which I am not at all on principle opposed, is to become the system of admission to public offices in this country, it would be better to try it, in the first instance, in the civil service at home.

2556. I think that the rule of moving second and third secretaries from place to place at not very long intervals of time is on the whole a good one.

2565. I should say that, as a general rule, other things being equal, it was desirable to have in our diplomatic service men of the higher ranks of social life.

2567. *Mr. Rylands.*] I suppose we must not understand that you think that manners and demeanour are necessarily connected with birth?—No, certainly not necessarily with birth. I think that the society in which a man has lived and the kind of general culture he has had, have something to do with manners and social character.

2568. I do not think that the fact of a man having what is termed high connections is at all material.

2587. If the private secretary is to be paid, I would rather that the pay went, and that the training which that office gives went, to a member of the regular service.

2588. *Mr. Arthur Russell.*] Does your Lordship consider that a Foreign

Secretary can be responsible to Parliament for his foreign policy if he is precluded from choosing his own agents for the higher posts of diplomacy, and they are imposed upon him by some rules and regulations?—I consider that he would be responsible to Parliament for the policy which he pursues, because that is a matter which ought to originate, and must originate, with the Cabinet; with the Foreign Office in the first place; and if it is in a matter of more than departmental importance, then with the Cabinet as a whole. I do not think that anything that is done by ministers abroad ought to relieve him of that responsibility; but undoubtedly if matters have gone wrong, and he were able to show that they had gone wrong in consequence of the blundering of some minister or ambassador, it would be a very strong point in his defence if he had had no option as to putting that person in the post which he held.

2591. *Mr. Rylands.*] But in regard to the highest posts in the service, the agents of the Foreign Secretary are now to some extent imposed upon him by their being in the position at the time when he comes into office?—That undoubtedly is true.

2592. Would your Lordship then apply your remark to that state of things, and say that the fact of an important diplomatic agent abroad having been appointed without the consent of the Foreign Secretary, would be any excuse for him in the event of the management of the diplomatic affairs of that country going wrong?—To a certain extent a Secretary of State is responsible for every ambassador and minister in the service, because he has always the power of removing him. At the same time it is well understood that that is not a power which should be exercised, except for very grave reasons; and I should certainly hold that a Secretary of State was in a far higher degree responsible for the conduct of a minister whom he had himself appointed than for the conduct of a minister whom he had not appointed, but whom he found there and whom he had merely abstained from removing.

2593. Does not that seem to furnish rather a strong argument in reference to the most important missions in Europe, that the persons filling those missions should be nominated by the Foreign Secretary actually in power?—I think that the inconvenience of that would be very great. I do not know who would devote himself to diplomatic work if his tenure of office was to depend upon the stability of a Government at home.

2599. There is no relation in diplomacy more intimate, I presume, than that between a Secretary of State and an Under Secretary of State, or that between a minister and his private secretary. Am I right in saying that your Lordship and Mr. Layard, whose politics differ, both had the same gentleman as private secretary?—Yes; and I may take the opportunity of saying that he discharged the duties of that position for both of us in a most efficient manner.

#### MR. WILLIAM DOUGAL CHRISTIE.

2627. I think that there is no reason for raising the rank of our representatives anywhere in South America. In some cases I think it may be advantageously reduced.

2631. When I was sent out as minister plenipotentiary to the Argentine Confederation, then distinct from Buenos Ayres, it was done in consequence of representations made by an Argentine minister, who was sent over expressly for that purpose, that they would be very much gratified by having a representative of the rank of a minister. But I feel quite satisfied that in Buenos Ayres a representative of the rank of *chargé d'affaires* and consul general is all that our interests require.

2632. How is it now?—Now there is a minister. With regard to

Brazil, Brazil is an empire. The Emperor of Brazil has family relations with European dynasties, and there are one or two ministers sent to Brazil for that reason.\* Russia, for instance, sends a minister to Brazil solely on account of family relations. I certainly do not think that there is any need for a change in Brazil in the way of increase of the rank of our representation, but my belief is that a minister plenipotentiary, that is, making it a second class mission, would be ample for Brazil. I am aware that it has been stated by Mr. Hammond in his evidence, which I have read, that representations were made from the South American governments that they would feel very much flattered by having higher representatives than *chargés d'affaires* and consuls general. My experience is that, in yielding to similar representations, we gratify the vanity of the South American governments; and when it comes to our wanting anything from them, when it comes to our requiring them to do what is right, we do not find them at all disposed to remember what we have done to gratify them.

2635. You have had to settle no doubt several more or less commercial questions and commercial difficulties when you were in the River Plate a minister there. Should you say that you had no superior advantage as a minister to what you could have had as *chargé d'affaires*?

2636. I do not think that I should have had the same advantage then if I had only had the rank of *chargé d'affaires*.

2639. *Mr. William Cartwright.*] Were the offices at Rio?—All the work was done in Petropolis, and there was no occasion for an office in Rio; the work in Rio was of that nature that I had very seldom occasion to see individuals, and individuals very seldom had occasion to see me. I could get down in four hours on a summons by telegraph; and whenever it was necessary to go down on public business, of course I went down, and whenever any British subject wanted to see me in Rio, it was understood that I was ready to go down.

2640. Where would you see them?—At an hotel.

2644. Do you think that it would be an advantageous plan that the public should provide residences at these missions for their representatives, rather than make an allowance for house rent, or is an allowance the preferable plan?—I think it is most desirable that a residence should be provided at every mission, and that that residence should be in the main furnished.

2645. And should be the permanent place for the representative of England?—Yes, and that would be an immense convenience. My experience is mostly confined to distant countries and places where it is difficult to establish oneself. If a minister going newly to a country were to find a house in the main furnished, he would be relieved of a great deal of trouble and embarrassment. Of course he is subject to a great deal of unnecessary expense by being put to it to find a house when he first goes there, every advantage naturally being taken of him as a stranger and as a minister.

2649. *Chairman.*] With respect to the question of reduction of staff in the larger missions, do you think that that would be effected in a way advantageous to the public?—I will answer that question by saying that I think that the system should be entirely changed. My belief is that all the objects of the service could be best attained by first of all allowing every ambassador or minister a private secretary.

\* N.B.—There are at Rio de Janeiro, under ordinary circumstances, an English, a French, a Russian, an Austrian, a North-German, a United States, an Argentine, a Portuguese, an Italian, and a Spanish Minister, and a Papal Nuncio, as well as representatives from other South American States.

2657. I believe that in some of the smaller and less busy missions in Europe you may dispense with the secretary of legation altogether, and that the work could be easily done (for instance, in Switzerland, at Stuttgart, and at the Hague, by the minister with the assistance of a private secretary and a good clerk.

2661. With reference to the large embassies, the embassies now in Paris, Constantinople, and Vienna, and such places, I should say that you might have under the secretary of embassy two sets of clerks.

2669. I should say in the Brazil mission, though a first-class mission, there is not enough to employ the secretary of legation if he has not to do chancery work, and has not to do copying work. I am far from wishing to subject a gentleman of the age and position that a secretary of legation generally is, to drudgery; but I say it is better not to have one at all, if you cannot so use him, but much better to have an efficient working man.

2678. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] If I understand you rightly a clerk would render much more assistance, and you could give him direct orders to do a thing, and such orders as you could not give in the same way to a gentleman in the position of attaché?—Certainly, there is a very important difference, that one feels that one can obtain the assistance of clerks on different terms from those on which one receives it from attachés who are sent out by the Foreign Office.

2690. I am of opinion that in Brazil as in Buenos Ayres, and in some European missions similarly situated where there is a distinct consular establishment as well as the mission, the consular establishment should be suppressed, that is, that it should be merged in the mission; and applying that to Brazil, to which I understand the question refers, a considerable reduction would be made by carrying out that plan. The ordinary duties of the minister in Brazil (and it is the same with the minister in Buenos Ayres) are duties almost entirely relating to commerce and to the protection of British subjects, and obtaining justice for them in the cases which arise continually, and they are duties which could be ordinarily adequately performed by an officer of the rank of chargé d'affaires and consul general, which I believe is the highest rank which is really required for our interests in Brazil; but apart from that, even if the rank of the mission were not reduced from envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to a chargé d'affaires and consul general, you might still save a great deal of money by suppressing the consular establishment as a distinct one, and having all the work done under the staff of the minister and under the general superintendence of the minister, with the aid of a secretary of legation, whose duties would be such as I have before suggested, and who would be called on to do more work than secretaries of legation now ordinarily are.

2691. I think that in all missions, whether in South America or in Europe, where the capitals are ports, and where you now have a consular establishment distinct from the mission, all the work could be done and should be done by the mission, and that the separate consular establishment should be suppressed.

2697. I do not see why there should be more degradation to a mission in the receipt of fees for passports and for notarial signatures than in having such fees paid to consulates. Something might be got in that way towards paying the expenses of a permanent officer, say in missions.

2709. I should certainly agree with Mr. Stuart that the salary of the secretary of legation at Buenos Ayres might be raised and should be raised.

2713. There is no doubt whatever that a minister has not the control over his subordinates which a colonial governor has over his clerks.

2980. There has been reduction in the character of our mission at

Monte Video, and I wish to ask you whether from your experience of South American missions you approve of that course?—I think that the change which has been made is a very ill-advised change. But I will go further than that; I think that the arrangement which has been made for the minister at Buenos Ayres to take Monte Video under his charge is an objectionable arrangement. Monte Video and Buenos Ayres have always been rivals. The Republic of the Uruguay, as it is called, is of an inferior extent to the Argentine Republic. But the English population in the Republic of Uruguay is a very large one; I suppose there would be a hundred British subjects in Monte Video to one in Venezuela. There is a great deal of sheep farming going on there under Englishmen. I think it is very important that Monte Video should have an independent representative, at least of the rank of consul general. I think that the change which has been made is certainly an injudicious one.

2999. *Mr. Arthur Russell.*] Mr. Gordon complains that the salary at Stuttgardt has remained stationary, and that the salary at Berne has been raised from 2,000*l.* to 2,500*l.* At Berne there is no court, at Stuttgardt there is; and I should certainly think that Stuttgardt ought to be placed on the same footing as Berne.

3001. You said, I think, that you would maintain the mission in Switzerland; you think it important that we should have a minister there?—I do not think that we should reduce his rank.

3002.—Would you suppress the missions at Dresden and Darmstadt?—As regards Dresden and Darmstadt, I would say first that I think there is a use in those places as training places for ministers. Germany is a great seat of art and science and literature, and I think that one of the best objects of our diplomatic representation abroad is to provide international links for the promotion of literary, scientific, and artistic interests, and all the high purposes of civilisation; they are not merely for political objects.

3003. *Mr. Butler-Johnstone.*] In your opinion would the tendency of having a permanent staff attached to our missions be to throw the whole work on that permanent staff, and to leave the other gentlemen attached to the mission in a simply ornamental capacity?—I would have, besides those clerks, only a private secretary for the minister, and a secretary of legation.

3005. And what future prospects would the private secretary have?—I think that the private secretary should begin with a salary. He would be the friend of the minister or ambassador, and if he were removed the private secretary would go with him from one post to another, and in time he might be recommended by his chief to the Secretary of State for a secretary of legation.

3008. *Mr. Cameron.*] As to these private secretaries, as I understand you, you would have secretaries of legation and secretaries of embassy, and the rest of the work would be done by clerks; where would you get your secretaries of embassy or legation from if you had no attachés in the regular service?—The private secretaries would be attachés; I should also like to see junior Foreign Office clerks promoted to be secretaries of legation.

3009. The private secretary would be appointed by the ambassador or minister, according to your plan?—He would be chosen by the ambassador or minister.

3011. Besides that, I would revert to the old system, which I think has its merits, of the Secretary of State choosing from time to time a stranger, taking, say, one who is not an old man, from Parliament. For instance, I was selected myself.

3022. Our commercial transactions with the different states of South

America are very large, I believe—much greater than those of any other nation, either in Europe or America?—Yes, I believe they are.

3023. We have also a large carrying trade with those states—that is to say, a large proportion of the trade between them and other countries is carried on in British vessels?—Yes.

3030. *Mr. Holms.*] Would not the danger of having purely commercial questions dealt with by gentlemen trained in politics and diplomacy be greatly increased by your proposition to abolish the consulates and retain the political missions only?—I am recommending, for economy and for the better and more consistent conduct of business, that in capitals which are ports, the consular establishment should be merged in the diplomatic mission; that is, that the consular work should be done under the superintendence and responsibility of ministers who are highly responsible persons, and who ought to be fit for the posts to which they are assigned.

3031. In most cases those ministers are not acquainted with commercial life; would they be, therefore, as efficient in such posts as men who were accustomed to commercial life, which our consuls usually are?—The greatest part of the work would not be done by the ministers themselves; the work would be done under the superintendence and responsibility of the ministers by trained persons, persons accustomed to the details of consular business, and capable of managing it; and, again, the ministers, however they may be originally appointed, are persons who have gone through a long training, and if they are not they ought to be fit persons for their posts.

3035. I said that there are no great questions of policy arising in the South American missions with reference to which you would desire to influence your diplomatic colleagues, as well as the Government itself; but I am not prepared to say that there are no political questions to be dealt with. There are political questions relating to South America, political questions between the English Government and the particular South American Government; and with reference to the protection of British subjects, and securing justice for individuals, it is necessary that the representative should not only be a person acquainted with commerce, but that he should be likewise acquainted with questions of international law. You want not a mere merchant, of course I do not speak disrespectfully of merchants, but you want a man of general education and attainments, and a man of general ability. You may find such men among merchants certainly, but those men are to be found elsewhere also. You want also persons well acquainted with the language.

3045. *Mr. Eastwick.*] Do you think that if there was no interference on the part of our diplomatic officers the South American Governments would conscientiously discharge their obligations?—Well, I am afraid that the general rule has been that they are not conscientious in the discharge of their obligations, and therefore it has been necessary to call in the aid of our representatives to assist bondholders to get what was right. It stands to reason that if a British representative is to endeavour to get justice in a foreign country for one, the case becomes very much more important when a large number of British subjects are interested.

3063. I think it most important that not only the examination for attachés, but that the examination for Foreign Office clerks also, should include the subject of what is called private international law.

3095. What has been the rank of our representative in Paraguay?—In Paraguay, when I was there, there was a consul; and President Lopez, the father of the Lopez who has just died, was very anxious that we should send him a *chargé d'affaires*. It was a mere matter of vanity on his part,

but he was very anxious that we should send him a *chargé d'affaires*, and he would do nothing unless we sent him a *chargé d'affaires*. However, there were very few British subjects there, and it certainly was not desirable to appoint a *chargé d'affaires*.

3097. The public generally do not interest themselves very much in South American countries; members of the House of Commons have not interested themselves in them, and it would be extremely desirable that there should be more interest taken in those countries. And, certainly, speaking with feeling upon this subject, for I declare that I shudder when I think of what has been done to humble British subjects in Paraguay, of which no notice has been taken (I blush for my country almost when I think of it), I think that our relations with Paraguay (I speak deliberately) would be found, if investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, to be a proof of bad management on the part of the Foreign Office.

3098. Is there any specific recommendation that you would make for improvement of the management of our business in the South American States?—I think that the great thing that is wanted in the management of our business in the South American States is more continuous attention, on fixed principles, by the Foreign Office to South American countries, and to our interests there. When I went to Rio, I found claims there of 300,000*l.*, many of them 30 or 40 years old. I was not able to succeed in getting a settlement of them.

3099. There is an increasing number of British subjects settling in those countries, is there not?—There is a great emigration to the River Plate.

3100. The trade is increasing also, is it not?—Yes.

3101. Would you have a limit of age or of time when a minister should retire? have you any view upon that point?—I should say that if you have a very good and experienced minister or ambassador in an important place, probably within certain limits and certain conditions, he would improve with age and experience. I should say that it was most desirable that you should in important embassies and missions profit by the wisdom which experience has given.

3138. You say that "in some cases you think the rank of our representatives in South America may be advantageously reduced?"—Yes.

3139. Have you ever represented that when you were in South America?—I had no call to represent it, and, of course, I have given very much more consideration to the subject with reference to coming forward here to give evidence. When I was resident in Buenos Ayres I was originally appointed with the title of *chargé d'affaires* and consul general, and I was unexpectedly sent out with the rank of minister; and I have no hesitation in saying that when there was a separation between the Argentine Republic and Buenos Ayres, which itself gave us an opportunity of settling a great number of questions which I did settle, I was assisted by the superior rank, as the Chairman suggested the other day; but ordinarily the rank of *chargé d'affaires* and consul general would suffice for any South American Mission.

3141. You stated in answer to Question 2636: "I think that with those governments when you want anything special done it might be, and probably would be, sometimes desirable to send out a special representative with a higher rank;" it takes some time to get to South America, does it not?—You get to Rio in less than a month.

3179. You can imagine circumstances under which a secretary of legation could go to the Foreign Office of the country when it is not desirable that the minister should go?—Yes.

3180. And in a so-called constitutional country he may be called upon to make reports of what goes on in the chamber?—I think it most desirable to have efficient secretaries of embassy and legation.

3183. *Mr. Rylands.*] I understand the practical effect of your evidence to be, that whilst you think that secretaries of legation might do a very large amount of work in the mission, practically they are not of use when the chief of the mission is present, that they do not render themselves generally useful?—That I should say is the general practice, that by mutual consent the secretary does not assist the minister beyond the commercial reports.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES, VISCOUNT HALIFAX.

2725. *Chairman.*] The last transfer of the Persian mission from the Indian Department to the Foreign Office, we have been told, took place in 1859?—Yes. The Committee are probably aware that it had been transferred to the Foreign Office from the Board of Control and the Court of Directors some time in 1834 or 1835, and had remained so till the year 1858. That transfer took place with the entire concurrence of the Court of Directors, a body who naturally looked mainly to the interests of India. When I became Secretary of State for India, in the summer of 1859, I found that the Persian mission had been transferred in the year before to the India Office. I had a good deal of conversation with Lord Russell, who was then Foreign Secretary, upon the subject, and he and I agreed that there was no sufficient reason for having upset an arrangement which had worked, I believe, to the satisfaction of all parties interested for upwards of 20 years, and as the transfer had been made so recently, we thought it far better to put the mission back on the footing on which it had been ever since the year 1835 or 1836.

2726. As I understand, you had been President of the Board of Control during the period when it was upon that footing?—Yes, for two years; from the autumn of 1852 till the spring of 1855.

2727. And your experience then, as at the head of Indian affairs, was that that arrangement worked satisfactorily?—I never heard any complaint against the satisfactory working of that department under the Foreign Office after the transfer of 1835 or 1836.

2730. I entirely concurred with Lord Russell that it was far better that the direction of the whole of the diplomatic service should be in one hand, rather than in two; and that inasmuch as there is a good deal of connection between Turkey and Persia, and Russia and Persia, the same person who wrote the directions to our ministers at Constantinople and St. Petersburg should write the directions to our minister at Teheran, on those subjects on which the three countries were interested.

2731. I presume that when you were President of the Board of Control, you were always consulted in reference to all important matters that related to Persian diplomacy?—In all matters in which India might be affected; and, indeed, much more generally than that, because action against Persia must almost certainly take place on the Indian side.

2732. Then I wish to ask you about your experience of the result of the transfer during the seven years subsequently, when you were at the head of the Indian Department; did it work satisfactorily?—Certainly.

2733. You see no ground for transferring it back again to the India Office?—I do not recollect any difficulties of any sort or kind occurring; if I wished a representation made to the Persian government, I wrote to the Foreign Secretary, who made the representation which I desired to the Persian government, or to the Persian minister here.

2734. Were you consulted at all with regard to the *personnel* of the



Persian diplomatic corps with a view of suggesting the Indian officers who might be of use there?—I think I was, but I do not remember; I am pretty sure that I gave an opinion about the appointment of one Indian servant who was employed in Persia.

2735. At any rate, you would have been ready to form an opinion and express one at the request of the Foreign Secretary?—Certainly; any request of that kind of course would be a private communication to me, and would not appear officially in any way.

2741. I understand, then, your Lordship to say that you still have a very distinct opinion that the arrangement which you made in 1859 is the right arrangement, and one which ought to continue?—I think that the arrangement made in 1835, and which was disturbed for a year only, in 1858, is the best arrangement that can be made. I think it is far better to have the entire direction of the diplomatic service in one hand. I do not see the least reason to suppose that the Indian interests are not sufficiently represented or taken care of by the Persian minister appointed by the Foreign Secretary, who, of course, in all matters connected with India, acts very much with the advice and the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India.

2742. I presume that before that transfer was made, Lord Palmerston's opinion, too, was expressed, and he approved of it?—Entirely.

2758. You do not think that public interests would be advanced by the employment exclusively of people of Indian experience in Persia?—No; I think it very desirable that there should be in Persia a person, supposing such a person could be found, with a certain knowledge of Indian matters; but I do not think it at all indispensable.

2766. Supposing that any question of Persian diplomacy having reference to Indian interests to arise, that question, in the first instance, would be considered by the Indian Department in conjunction with the Foreign Department, before the minister in Persia received his instructions?—It seems to me to be precisely the same case as if a question arose between Canada and the United States. In all probability the Colonial Secretary would communicate with the Foreign Secretary before any instructions were given to our minister at Washington to act in any matter concerning the interests of Canada.

2767. But we have been told that a very large proportion of questions connected with Persia have reference to Indian interests rather than to European interests; I daresay your Lordship will not dispute that?—There are a great number of questions between Persia and Turkey, in which India has no interest at all. With regard to the other Great Power to which I have alluded, namely, Russia, no doubt the action of Russia upon Persia may materially affect India; but it is hardly an Indian interest, as apart from the interest of this country, because if Russia was to assail India in any way, of course it would entail a war with this country as well as with India.

2770. You would not be disposed to anticipate that the Foreign Office would refuse to defer to the opinion of the India Office in certain questions affecting the Persian mission upon which the India Office and the Foreign Office differed?—In that case the question must be referred to the Prime Minister or to the Government, and the decision of the Government must be decisive for both.

2778. And you still think that the fact of the judgment of the Foreign Department, with their traditions, having arisen out of their experience of European courts, does not render it undesirable that they should control under similar regulations the representative at an Eastern court like Persia?—It is not true, I conceive, that the only experience of the

Foreign Office is in dealing with constitutional or European courts. As far as the tradition and experience of the Foreign Office, handed down from one Secretary of State to another, goes, they have had to deal with a great number of Eastern nations, as well as European, and it seems to me that the knowledge that has accumulated in the Foreign Office would apply both to the one and to the other.

2780. Sir Henry Rawlinson states that the regulations of the Foreign Office are not applicable to our mission in Persia; that, I think, you do not agree with?—I do not agree with Sir Henry Rawlinson in that respect.

2783. Diplomatic agents acting under the Foreign Office might have to interfere in questions relating to India, and they can do so much more easily and more readily if the Persian mission is under the same direction as themselves, than they could if it were under a separate direction?—Our minister at Persia must on many occasions communicate with the Russian minister, the French minister, and the Turkish minister. The conduct of those ministers would be guided by the directions from their own courts, which may more or less be influenced by the action of our ministers at those courts, and then there will be a greater accordance, I think, between the conduct of our ministers in all four courts (Russia, Turkey, Persia, and France) if the directions to our ministers there proceed from the same source.

2784. That does not imply at all necessarily that you are to pursue the same system in Persia, or that you are to have the same sort of agent there as in other courts?—Certainly not. My opinion is simply this, that the guidance of a great department is far better in one hand than in two.

2812. But supposing that it could be shown that, we will say, nine-tenths of the whole correspondence had reference to India, and that only one-tenth had reference to Russia and Turkey, would not your Lordship then be inclined to think that the management of our Persian relations had better be under the Indian Office?—No, I do not think that the question of who are the best people to manage our diplomatic relations at Teheran entirely or mainly depends upon what the questions are.

2813. I believe I am right in saying that the ministers in Persia, and the greater part of the staff, have been Indian officers, with the exception of Sir Charles Murray and Mr. Alison?—I think they have. If I remember right, one of the most serious differences with the Persian court arose under Sir Henry Willock, an Indian officer.

2814. It did not come to an actual rupture?—No. Nor should I be prepared to admit that the rupture in the time of Sir Charles Murray was owing to his not being an Indian officer.

2817. The Council of India, of course, contains some persons? (of acquaintance with Persia).

2818. Take Sir Bartle Frere; I do not know that Sir Bartle Frere has any knowledge of the court of Persia or the state of feeling in Persia. He was governor of Bombay, and knows what business arises between the Bombay merchants, for instance, and the merchants of the Gulf of Persia; but he has no knowledge of the Persian court, and I do not even know that he speaks Persian.

2819. We will take Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir George Clerk?—Sir Henry Rawlinson was at Teheran, and knows the language. Sir George, too, probably, speaks Persian.

2820. He has been employed on the frontier, has he not?—He has never been employed beyond the boundaries of India, I think.

2826. And, in point of fact, supposing that Persia was transferred to the India Office, there would be no very great disadvantage?

2827. I do not say that any great evil would happen from it. I think

that the other is by far the best arrangement, and I can say no more than that.

2828. I am strongly of opinion that the Government in India should have as little to do beyond its own frontiers as it can possibly have. It has quite enough to do within them, and the less it meddles beyond, the better.

2832. Then, I would ask, is it right that those who pay for a mission should have the direction of it or not?—I think that India pays far too highly towards the Persian mission now.

2834. I always thought it perfectly fair that the payment should be, as I always hoped and expected it would be, about half-and-half.

2840. Take the case of China; there has never been any question of an Indian officer being sent to China, and yet the interests between India and China are many times as great as those between India and Persia.

2847. I think it is best that our minister in Teheran should be equal to cope with the ministers of the other European Powers who are resident there; and I think that, upon the whole, that object is more likely to be attained by having a minister under the Foreign Office there than by having an Indian servant sent from India.

#### MR. THEODORE WALROND.

2935. *Mr. Otway.*] A young man might be perfectly competent, I conclude, to pass the examination before the Civil Service Commissioners for an attaché, and thereby qualify himself, and yet be totally deficient in moral qualities, and in tact, and in reticence, in short in all the qualities that would fit him for the diplomatic profession?—No candidate could get the certificate of the Civil Service Commissioners who was totally deficient in some of the moral qualities, because one of the points on which they certify is that his character is such as to fit him for public employment. But as to tact or reticence, or the peculiar qualifications required for diplomatic duties, I do not think that our examination is the very least guarantee of those things; and it is for that reason, it seems to me, that if there were such a scheme, it is essential that the Secretary of State should have the freest choice among the candidates presented to him.

2936. Indeed, you stated before that there are peculiar qualifications for that service which you thought, with your knowledge of the universities (which I know to be very extensive) and public schools would prevent many men from competing for it; because they would be aware of their own deficiency in those respects?—Yes.

3297. *Chairman.*] You were asked some questions the other day with reference to forms of competition for the diplomatic service.

3298. What is it that you would recommend?—Although that plan is founded on a true principle, namely, that of letting every one who is fit for the situation come forward and show what he is worth, without needing to be backed by interest or influence, and then letting the Secretary of State select on his own responsibility out of a number of persons reported to him as intellectually fit the one that is best qualified, it seems to me hardly time yet to apply that system to the diplomatic service. The system of open competition has not been tried to any considerable extent with regard to the ordinary branches of the civil service, and certainly the diplomatic service is not the one in which one would like to see the experiment first tried; and therefore if I were called upon to submit a scheme of competitive examination for the diplomatic service, it would not be open competition, but limited competition, that I would suggest.

3299. In what way would you limit it?—The limitation that had

occurred to me as the most obvious and natural was to have a competitive examination at a stated period every year, but to admit as competitors only persons who were nominated either by the existing Secretary of State or by any of his predecessors; I think that in that way you would have a sufficient number of candidates, and you would have the very same guarantee that you have now, that no one came in who did not possess all those nameless qualifications which the Secretary of State is the best judge of.

3392. *Mr. W. H. Gladstone.*] Have you any reason to believe that the fact of the second examination being severe deters people from prosecuting their diplomatic career?—I have not had any reason to think that. At the same time, if I might be allowed to say so, it has always seemed to me that it would be a very great advantage if that second examination were brought a great deal nearer than it is to the first examination; it hangs over the heads of men after they have got into the practical work of their profession, and I have certainly heard some of them say that they regard it as an incubus which they would be glad to get rid of. It is rather hard for an examining board to be called upon to pronounce by examination whether a young man is or is not fit for the duties of his situation; after he has been performing the duties of that situation for a good many years.

3393. *Mr. Selater-Booth.*] May you not even go further, and say that the examiner might be quite wrong in the view he would take?—I think it quite possible.

3394. *Mr. Eastwick.*] If you had a very high examination for the people whom you seem to expect to bring into the service, might you not dispense with the second examination altogether?—Some of the subjects required for the diplomatic service are rather peculiar, and out of the line of young men's ordinary reading, as, for instance, international law and political economy, which are hardly studied widely, even at the universities; and on that ground, I suppose, it is that those subjects have been separated from the first examination; but it has always seemed to me that if the second examination came six months after the first that would be an ample interval, and I should not myself see any great objection to the two examinations being passed together.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK, EARL OF  
CLARENDON, K.G., G.C.B.

3416. *Chairman.*] Should you be disposed to extend the limited competition which exists in the Foreign Office to the diplomatic service?—I see no objection to it, but I do not see any reason for it.

3417. You are satisfied with the quality of the men you get under the present system?—I am, as I think it works very well.

3419. Do you find that there is as much pressure to get employment in the diplomatic service as there is to get employment in the Foreign Office at home?—No, I do not think there is.

3423. The answers to the circulars addressed by your Lordship to Her Majesty's ministers abroad convey a general impression of universal complaint, at all events among those in the lower grades, that the salaries are inadequate?—I cannot wonder at it.

3424. You think that those complaints are well founded?—I do indeed.

3432. Should you be disposed to retain the system of second examinations, as it is now, for these gentlemen; we have had a suggestion that it might be desirable to have one examination after a certain interval of service, which should be a pretty stiff one, instead of two examinations; has that been suggested to you?—That has been suggested to me, and

there are a great many opinions for and against it. I think that if you were to subject a young man of 19 or 20 to a very severe examination upon entering into the service, you would be requiring almost more from him than he could give you. It is pretty severe as it is, judging from the number of persons who do not pass. I think also that the second examination may be necessary; but even that has its disadvantages, because if a man spends four or five years in service abroad, and gives his attention to the business of his mission, particularly if it is an important mission where there is much to do, he cannot keep up that sort of knowledge that would be required for the second examination; and yet I am not prepared to say that the two examinations would not be better than a very severe one at first.

3433. Does your Lordship attach much weight to examinations of men who, to a certain extent, have embarked in a practical career in life; or do you think that the actual experience of affairs and the results shown of a man's own powers in the work of an office are a better test of what he is capable of?—I think that that is a very important question, and I should say that, for the diplomatic service, I should rely more upon the knowledge that a man acquires at an embassy and legation than upon the second examination. Providing that he is an intelligent man (and that I should consider to have been tested by his first examination), I should not attach such very great importance to the second examination. I think that the fact that he acquires a large amount of practical information (I suppose him to be a capable man), the reports that he is required to make and the studies that he must pursue in the service, render a second examination not so necessary as might be supposed.

3434. Then I gather that you do not attach such very great value to the second examination?—Not very great value.

3436. We have heard something, I may say a good deal, of the slowness of promotion in the service now; that is the case, I suppose?—There is no doubt about it.

3437. There is almost a stoppage of the rise to the higher ranks?—I must certainly say that it is a stagnant profession. In the first place it seems to be a very wholesome profession, because nobody dies; and, in the second place, it must be a pleasant profession, because nobody resigns; and therefore there is a good deal of stagnation. Every friend of mine I recommend not to put his son into the diplomatic profession. Although I have appointed seven, which may appear to be a great number in eighteen months, it has only been to supply the urgent requests of the different missions, which have been short-handed. I may take the instance of this recent unfortunate case in Greece. The secretary had been removed to another place, his successor had not yet arrived, poor Mr. Herbert had been captured, the secretary of legation was still at Constantinople, and during the first three days of that melancholy occurrence Mr. Erskine was entirely alone to do everything, to cipher and decipher. And I cannot give the Committee a better idea of what must have been the nature of his employment than by stating that some of his despatches, although they were deciphered by some of the ablest men in the Foreign Office (and I suppose there can be no better decipherers anywhere), took four or five hours to decipher. I say that for such cases it is necessary to have what I may call a stock in hand; and a gentleman who had just completed his period of service in the Foreign Office was sent out to assist him.

3438. Then I gather that you do not think that the subordinate staff, generally speaking, of the diplomatic service could be very well reduced?—Indeed I do not think it could.

3439. We have had it suggested to us that there might be more economy, and also an increase of efficiency in the service, if the heads of the higher missions had a private secretary, who was not permanently in the diplomatic service, but was always present, and would assist the head in despatching confidential business; is that a practical suggestion of any value, in your opinion?—I ought to say that it is a practical suggestion. But I do not see the absolute necessity of adopting that plan. I think it quite necessary that the head of a mission should be able to avail himself of the services, in that sort of capacity, of some person attached to the mission. For instance, it is quite impossible that he should copy his own letters, and see all the people who call upon him; and in a legation where the business is active and heavy you cannot expect that the minister should be able to do all that for himself. I think that he ought to have that sort of assistance that really is necessary for the prompt and punctual transaction of business, and that he ought not to pay it out of his own pocket. I think it is a very fair assistance to get from the staff of the legation or embassy, but it is also a reason why you cannot make the staff of these legations much lower than it is. Of course, in former times, when the diplomatic service was not a regular profession, and when the Secretary of State could appoint just as many persons as he pleased, and anybody that liked to go to Paris or Florence was appointed an attaché, it was a different thing, but now that only the number of attachés or secretaries are appointed that is thought to be necessary, if one of the gentlemen attached to the mission is employed by the minister for the necessary business of the mission, it is another reason for not reducing the staff.

3440. Have there been complaints with respect to secretaries of legation, that their time was too much devoted to Reports instead of the usual business of the mission?—I do not think I ever heard any complaint. I think that the Land Tenure Reports are very instructive and satisfactory, and a great addition to our industrial literature. I do not believe that all the chambers of commerce in this country combined, or any other machinery that could have been devised, would have been able to command the means or the ability of producing such reports as those.

3441. I rather think that those reports were first instituted by your Lordship?—The original reports were.

3442. And the result has been highly satisfactory to you, as I understand?—It has been highly satisfactory to me, and I am sure that those reports have been highly useful to the mercantile community; they could have got the same knowledge from nowhere else. Each secretary of legation takes up a particular subject, say wine in Portugal, cotton-spinning in Switzerland or in Germany, or in other countries where they enter into active competition with us, and so on. I say that there are no other means by which information, which it is essential to our own manufacturing interests to have, could be as readily obtained.

3443. I rather gather from what you say that you think that the diplomatic service more than makes a return to the public for its pay by that kind of information?—It is really not because I am connected with it that I say so, but I do think that they are valuable public servants; I think that they perfectly earn their keep, so to speak. I can assure the Committee that if at any time I thought that any economies could be introduced in respect to the diplomatic service, I should be the first person to introduce them; but I do not think that by stretching that desire for economy very far, you secure the efficiency of the service. I think that the sort of general disposition that there has been on the part of the public and the press, resulting, simply, from want of information, has been (I must say

naturally) very discouraging to the members of the diplomatic body, and I think they will be just as well satisfied as I am that the realities of their service and of their work should be brought out in much the best way in which they can be brought out, the only way that we in England care about, namely, by examination before an impartial Committee; and therefore the appointment of this Committee was to me a matter of sincere satisfaction.

3444. You think that they are moderately paid, hard worked, and very useful; may I sum up your evidence in that way?—I think so.

3447. I think it very desirable indeed that anybody who is employed in the diplomatic service, particularly in the higher branches of it, should not be too long absent from England.

3448. For the sake of the public it is desirable you think that there should be proper facilities given for his returning home periodically?—Yes, I think so. If a man has been four or five years abroad, living always in the same place, running the round of the same ideas, it is impossible that that man should not become rusty, and you compel him to become rusty if you do not give him facilities for leave of absence.

3449. *Mr. Rylands.*] Your Lordship was mentioning, in reference to the nomination of unpaid attachés, that you considered that the system worked perfectly well. Still the fact is, I presume, that the nomination depending upon the will of the Foreign Secretary, there is a considerable amount of pressure for the patronage which so rests in the Foreign Secretary's hands?—I could not say that there is a great deal of pressure; I think that people are beginning to be a little afraid of the diplomatic service, because of the very great expense that it entails.

3451. Does your Lordship think it a desirable course to have unpaid officers connected with the diplomatic service?—To tell you the truth, I do not like unpaid service at all. I think that gratuitous service is never as good as that which is paid, and where, in return for the payment, the public has a right to expect efficient service.

3452. I suppose you would consider that if an arrangement were made, under which the services of attachés were paid, then it would be a proper course to take to open to wider competition the appointments to the diplomatic service?—I could not say that. I think that the diplomatic service is a very peculiar one, and you must look to a little more than a man's mere knowledge of French or German; you must look to his complete respectability and to his fitness for forming a member of the minister's family; that is what an attaché ought, at all events, to be fit for. I do not see that there would be any more advantage in open competition than there is under the present system. There is not the least distinction now of classes or otherwise. Anybody that wishes his son to enter the diplomatic profession will not meet with any difficulties of that nature; but I think that if you had open competition you would be liable to lower the standard which you want in the diplomatic service.

3454. Of course open competition would mean making it open to the whole world, and I do not think that under that system you would get the sort of men that we have hitherto had and that we have found to succeed in the profession. I think that it would lower the stamp of the service, and that we should feel the effects of that in the countries to which these persons were sent.

3455. A suggestion thrown out by Mr. Walrond the other day was, that a certain number should be named by the Secretary and the Ex-Secretaries of State, and he adopted a suggestion of mine that a certain number should be named by the heads of universities; that the nominees should then be presented for a limited competition, and that out of that

number the Foreign Secretary should select for appointment; that is a mode of limiting competition; does your Lordship see any objection to that?—No, I do not know that I see any particular objection to it, but I do not see the smallest advantage in it. I think that you have a system now which works just as well as that would work, and unless you can point out any patent evils arising from the system as it exists now, I should be unwilling to change it. I do not think that you would get any better men by throwing the responsibility off the Foreign Secretary as you would if that system which you suggest were adopted. Speaking as the Secretary of State, and as the head of the Foreign Office, I should rather prefer being myself personally responsible for every appointment, and blamable for every appointment that was made and did not answer the requirements of the public service, to having it left open to me to be able to shake off from myself all the responsibility on the ground that the persons had come into the service by competitive examination.

3456. Proceeding to the position of the under secretaries of legation, I suppose we are correctly informed that progress in their profession depends upon seniority, and that if there is no very gross case of impropriety or inefficiency, practically there is no reward for any extraordinary ability on the part of the subordinates of missions?—I think you have stated the case very correctly. Now that diplomacy is a regular profession, and you require men to qualify for it, and put them through a severe examination, they acquire certain rights in the profession, and unless you can show that some one man is pre-eminently fit for a post, I think that the adoption of seniority is the only way by which you can inspire a feeling in the service that they are dealt with fairly. That, of course, makes the advance very slow. I cannot but consider the profession as a stagnant one.

3458. But this stagnation of which you speak must, as a matter of course, very much destroy the energy of the members of the profession?—No doubt.

3459. A system which offers so little expectation for the future must, in the very nature of things, be an unfortunate system?—Yes.

3460. If a system were adopted which would lessen materially the number of juniors in the line of promotion by providing at every one of the missions an officer not in the line of promotion, who would take off a large amount of the ordinary routine work of the legation, might that not assist very materially in removing the block in the service?—Of course, if there were fewer young men appointed as attachés, the block in the way of promotion would be lessened. But the means which you propose, I think, would be extremely doubtful.

3461. I think people have very little idea of what the expense of living abroad is. A man who is employed at a legation, and who has a certain amount of confidential work, you must suppose to be in the category of gentlemen, otherwise he would not be confidential. If he is not in the category of gentlemen, I think you could not employ him, and you could not expect the others to associate with him. I think that such a system would produce heartburning in the missions, and really would not be attended with any economy, because you could not give a man of that sort less than the others live upon.

3464. You would consider that notwithstanding the discouragements of the service occasioned by this block, it is better to maintain the number of juniors in the line of promotion rather than relieve them by taking off their shoulders the lowest class of work, and leaving it to be done by a lower class of clerks?—I do not mean to say that that might not be rather better for the juniors in the diplomatic service; but I confess that I look to the public service rather than to the interests of the juniors, and I believe that the public service would suffer by that.



3465. In reference to the position which the juniors of a mission occupy towards the chief of the mission, I should like to have your Lordship's opinion whether the heads of missions ought not to have more control over their juniors and have an opportunity of expressing an opinion as to their conduct, and as to the propriety of their promotion?—I may say that as long as we take seniority *cæteris paribus* to be the rule of promotion, I do not see that the foreign minister can well interfere with advantage. I think that if he was, as foreign minister, to say, "I will have Mr. A. or Mr. B. here; I think that he is eminently qualified for the post from his knowledge of the language, and so on," that might be beneficial, because there are certain times where seniority ought for the public good to be set aside, and where a man conscientiously believes that A. is better than B. for a particular post, I, for one, although in point of business I should desire to adhere to the rule of seniority, would say that his duty to the public would compel him to set aside seniority in such a case.

3467. Without the least disrespect to Lord Lyons or Lord Cowley (for most assuredly better heads of missions never were), I should say that any insubordination, any want of discipline, any incompetency of service, was entirely to be attributed to the head of the mission.

3470. We are discussing this question with a view to see how far the present system secures harmony, and I ask whether, in your experience, it is not the fact that occasionally there is a good deal of unpleasant feeling and quarrelling in missions, and differences between the heads of missions and the secretaries of legation?—I really cannot say that that has come under my knowledge. There are differences in human nature; there are some natures that are as oil to other natures that are as water, and they do not mix well together; but, as a general rule, I have known very little unpleasantness indeed.

3471. Still I understand that in your judgment the public service must suffer unless there is an harmonious working of a mission between the chief and the subordinates of the mission?—If the chief of a mission understands his position, and understands the amount of authority vested in him, and knows the power at his back, he can perfectly well maintain discipline.

3472. With regard to the appointments to missions, is it the rule of the Foreign Secretary to appoint the senior secretary of embassy to a vacant mission?—No; I do not think that there is any positive rule about that. I think that the Secretary of State, as I have said *cæteris paribus*, would always be disposed to take the person who is senior, because amongst the different missions there is not that very great difference in the requirements and aptitudes, if I may use such an expression, of the persons to fill them, as would make it necessary to give the go-by to that principle of seniority which, diplomacy now being a profession, ought to be observed; but I should never hesitate to set aside that practice of seniority, if I thought it for the public good to do so.

3473. It has been stated in the House of Commons, and complaint has been made in the House of Commons, that there are certain gentlemen at present on pension who have filled the office of minister abroad, and whose appointment to any mission would save their pensions to the State; may I ask your Lordship whether there is any sufficient reason for not appointing diplomatic pensioners, who from their age and health are fit for employment?—That is a matter upon which I think the Secretary of State is personally responsible. There is no great injustice done to the individuals, because they would not gain much more if they were employed than they gain by remaining on the pension list. I do not wish to say anything that is personal or disagreeable to anybody, but I reserve to myself the right,

under a perfect sense of responsibility, to be called upon to account for its exercise when necessary, of judging what is best for the public service, and if I think that the public service would gain more by continuing to give a pension to a gentleman than by re-employing him, I do that upon my individual responsibility.

3474. There was a recent vacancy which was filled up by a gentleman who had not been in the diplomatic service for a number of years, and who was not in the line of promotion to that post; is not that rather going out of the general rule?—It has always been considered a rule of the service that when an under secretary has served well and for some time, and he is appointed to a mission, he goes out *ad eundem*.

3862. *Mr. Rylands.*] Does not your Lordship think that it would be a desirable state of things that the Foreign Secretary should be at liberty to appoint men of public character and position in connection with the political parties at home as heads of missions?—I think so.

3863. Lord Wodehouse, in the evidence before the Diplomatic Committee of 1861, expressed a very strong opinion that it was desirable that the heads of the principal missions abroad should occasionally, and not unfrequently, be appointed outside the mere line of diplomatic promotion; is that your Lordship's view?—I do not see that that is necessary; an occasion may arise when you may think that a certain man is particularly fitted for a mission, and you would then take him, though he was an outsider; but, *cæteris paribus*, I should prefer to take some one in the service. And, with respect to the discontent that Mr. Layard's appointment created, I do not think that it was borne in mind that it is a practice of the Foreign Office (I do not mean to say that it is very frequently resorted to) that an under secretary who has served well and for some time goes out as a minister. There have been several instances of that.

3864. That I quite understand; still the dissatisfaction does exist, and I presume the knowledge that the Foreign Secretary has of such dissatisfaction would have a tendency to limit appointments of that character?—Certainly.

3866. With regard to the small missions in Europe, has your Lordship considered whether there might not be an economy by the suppression of some of the appointments which now exist?—By the small missions in Europe, I apprehend that as usual Stuttgart is particularly alluded to; that generally paves the road as regards the small missions. I am not favourable to the abolition of that mission. I have considered it very much, and I do not think that it would be expedient. I think that it would be taken as an affront to the sovereign of the country; I think that it would be taken generally in Europe as a proof that we cared less for the interests of Germany than we do, and I think also that it would put a large portion of the British public who reside in Wurtemberg, at Carlsruhe and other places, to considerable inconvenience.

3867. Stuttgart and Munich, being both in South Germany, do you think that in both cases it is desirable that we should maintain the mission?

3868. Does not your Lordship think that it might be sufficient to have *chargés d'affaires* at these two points, the one at Munich being under the minister at Vienna?—No, I do not think that that would be worth while.

3869. But is it not the fact that whatever might be the impression produced by this line of policy there, it is well understood that the policy of England is not to interfere to so great an extent as was formerly the case in European politics?—Certainly, we are pursuing now a policy of

non-intervention. But if you think that that has diminished our moral influence I think that you are greatly mistaken. With regard to the moral influence gained by a community of interest and desire to promote the good of all, and particularly to promote peace, that moral influence would be gained by the residence of an efficient man in the country, and it is far more valuable and useful to this country, and makes it more respected, than all the threatening in the world.

3870. I am quite sure that I should subscribe to every word that your Lordship has stated with reference to the moral influence of this country in connection with the missions abroad. I wish to ask your Lordship whether you see any objection to an arrangement being made under which one of the secretaries of legation should undertake consular duties in those capitals, so as to avoid the necessity of two separate appointments?—There are some capitals (take St. Petersburg, for instance), in which the consular duties are so constant and of such various kinds that I do not think that you could get one attaché to do the work. Supposing that the attaché is necessary in the mission or embassy, he has tolerably full work; and I am quite certain that if he had to do the consul's work, the notarial work, and all that sort of thing, would be constantly behindhand.

3873. I think that your Lordship had very much to do with the arrangement under which secretaries of legation were required to present reports upon trade and commercial matters, and other points of interest?—There are three or four reports that I could mention as specially valuable.

3874. There can be no doubt about that; but does your Lordship think that there would be an advantage in these reports going through the heads of missions, and in fact the heads of missions being to some extent, and to a great extent, made responsible for the reports?—I think that if a man collects the information, and writes the report, he is the chief person in that work. I cannot say that I have ever asked heads of missions whether they take interest in these reports, but I have not the smallest doubt that they do. I should think they go hand in hand, although the secretary, who is the man that collects the information, and is responsible for its correctness, and writes the report, is of course the person chiefly interested. But those reports are always sent home by the minister; I have no doubt that no minister ever sent home a report without reading it first with the secretary of legation or embassy, because anything which he thought was incomplete or incorrect he would notice.

3875. We may, at all events, take it that it is your Lordship's opinion that that is the course that should be taken by the heads of missions, so as to prevent any introduction of matters that ought not to be published?—I cannot have the least doubt that it is done.

3895. Speaking not of myself, but of any man who happens to be in the place that I have the honour to fill, I may say that that minister, from the very nature of the duties attached to his position, is less under the eye of a vigilant public and press than the head of any other department, and there are confided to his honour, his judgment, and his discretion (perhaps I ought to add his honesty), the most momentous international and State affairs, and by any *laches* of his, by any failure of his in any of these qualities, he might involve the country in the greatest trouble. Well, in that man who happens to be the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Parliament and the public are in the habit of confiding until they find that he is unworthy of trust; but there is a sort of notion that he cannot quite be trusted with money which is not brought into the public accounts; I hardly know why he should be trusted on the largest affairs, and mistrusted on the very small ones. I do not think that the public suppose that he puts this

money into his own pocket, but I think that there are vague notions abroad of mysterious acts of corruption, of paying people more than they ought to have, and that sort of thing. I really am quite glad of this opportunity of saying to the Committee, just as if the Committee were a Baron of the Exchequer before whom I make a formal and solemn statement, that I have applied the money as it ought to be applied, that I can most solemnly declare that all those notions are entirely without foundation.

3900. In reference to the recent abolition of the Foreign Office agents, that, I think, was a voluntary act on your Lordship's part, as the head of the Foreign Office Department?—I do not think it is quite fair to say that it was a voluntary act of mine. There was that sort of manifestation of opinion by certain portions of the press, and by the House of Commons, that made it quite clear to me that that system could not be maintained. There was a great feeling against it. I consider that it was a system which worked extremely well, and one which all those concerned in it, that is to say, all the ministers and consuls, will regret the loss of; and I think that it was sacrificed to a prejudice; but a prejudice is often as strong in determining action as a well-founded opinion. There had got abroad an opinion that the agents had some influence in the making of appointments, and in the distribution of patronage. I can say that there never was a more completely unfounded opinion than that.

3903. Since the time that we have had a more regular representative there (at Rome) he has corresponded directly with the Foreign Office, and received instructions from the Foreign Office; but I have not the least hesitation in saying that his position is very inferior to that of the regularly accredited diplomatic corps, and that inconvenience results from that; and I think that, considering we have so many interests now affecting Roman Catholics, it would be very advisable that we should have a regularly accredited representative at that court.

3906. *Viscount Sandon.*] With regard to the salaries at the present moment of the diplomatic service, may I ask whether, virtually, the salaries of the whole service have not been reduced rather than increased, owing to the great increase in the cost of living on the Continent?—I am very much obliged to you for putting that question, as it gives me an opportunity of saying that I think that they are very much underpaid. You must remember that the greater part of these salaries were fixed thirty, forty, or fifty years ago. There is nobody at home or abroad who is not aware of what the increase of the cost of living is. Some of the reports that I hear from honourable men, who are perfectly incapable of saying what is untrue about the cost of their living, are really very distressing. I gave myself as an instance, the other day, when I stated that I spent a thousand a year more than my salary all the time that I was in Spain, even when I was a bachelor. But it is not everybody who can do that. The greater part of our diplomatic servants are very poor men; there are scarcely any of them who have any private fortune, and there is a constant conflict going on, I know, with those men as to how far they can venture to impair their own property, in order to do what is their public duty. Now I do not think that the public is bound in the least to so pay a man that he may lay by a great deal, but I think that the public has no right to expect to be served by a man at his own expense. I should not ask for any person in the diplomatic or consular service one farthing more than what would cover not only what is indispensable, but his proper liabilities. I would not ask for anything, in order that he should be allowed to lay by, although perhaps a man, after being forty or fifty years in the service, has some right to look to having earned something for his children; but I do

think it is hard that a man should be asked to spend his own private fortune and that of his children to enable him to perform his public duties properly.

3908. Is it your Lordship's opinion that it would be desirable, with a view to the advantage of the public service, that there should be a revision of the diplomatic salaries?—I think that it would be only just; I should like very much indeed to see certain salaries in the diplomatic service, and those of some unfortunate consuls, too, increased, but I should not like to have that done without a proper revision, and I should wish that the public should be perfectly aware why they sanctioned such a large increase; I should decline to do it myself.

3909. It would be for the benefit of the public service to revise the salaries?—Yes, I think so.

3910. I rather understand your Lordship to say that under the present system you get exactly the class of men into the diplomatic service that you want for the public service?—I think so; I do not know how you could improve it.

3912. Your Lordship appears to think that any change in the present system might prejudice the public service?—I think so.

3917. With regard to the effect of the telegraph on the relations of the Foreign Office with the missions abroad, does your Lordship think that the responsibility of our ministers and ambassadors at the different courts is so much diminished, that it would be for the benefit of the country to put in those posts men of less weight, and men less well paid than at present?—No, I do not think that the telegraph has made any such changes desirable. I do not see that it diminishes his labour the least in the world, and the answers that he gets from the Foreign Office are more or less concise too, and it requires, perhaps, more judgment, more discretion, to act upon a telegram than when an instruction is fully set out in a despatch.

3918. Therefore you require ministers who are able to take quite as much responsibility upon themselves now under the present system as formerly?—I think so.

3919. With regard to the value of our diplomatic service generally, is it not the case that what may be called the greatest feats of diplomacy are those that are unknown to the world; for instance, where great wars have been quietly prevented, or the commencement of evil in the relations between countries averted; that, in fact, the country frequently, from the very fact of its successes, has not known the greatest successes of its diplomacy?—I think that that is perfectly accurate; things have been done that exactly fulfil the conditions that you have mentioned; evil may be averted, and good may be done, but the causes, the mainsprings of that, remain concealed, and very desirable it is that they should do so.

3920. Therefore, when a country is considering the case of its diplomatic service, and whether it is well to keep it up, it ought to take into account that the most valuable diplomatic action it can never be aware of, but it must take on trust very much the beneficial nature of diplomacy, because from the very nature of things its most valuable operations are unseen?—That is perfectly true.

3921. *Mr. A. Russell.*] Do you think that, considering the increasing importance of our relations with the United States, there would be any advantage in giving the rank of ambassador to our minister at Washington?—If any wish was manifested by the United States Government to confer the highest diplomatic rank upon their representative, I should say that the question would certainly be considered by Government, and be submitted to Parliament; and expressing my own opinion, I may say that

if it were agreeable to the United States, I think that it would be very agreeable to us.

3927. *Mr. W. Lowther.*] Do you consider that the salary of our minister there is large enough?—I am quite certain that it is not, I mean not large enough to do what is required of a British minister there in the way of hospitality.

3928. The chief of a mission has a right to take away drafts or copies of his own despatches. Those despatches contain information which he has obtained from his official position. Those papers become his private property, and that of his executors if he dies. Has your Lordship ever known any inconvenience arise from the publication of official papers of that sort which have come into private hands?—I do not remember any cases of that just at the present moment, but I have not the least doubt that there have been such.

3929. With regard to commercial business being carried on at the Foreign Office, I suppose that there are often times when commercial questions are very much mixed up with political questions?—Yes, certainly.

3930. And therefore if the commercial correspondence were handed over to the Board of Trade, they would have to be continually applying to the Foreign Office in order to consult them?—Yes; there could not be a better receipt for confusion.

3935. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] Is it the right thing to do to accept a post when it is offered?—Certainly; Mr. Canning's rule was that if a man refused a post offered to him he got no other; he treated him exactly as you would do the colonel of a regiment who refused to go on service.

3947. *Mr. Eastwick.*] I would like to ask your Lordship, considering the great disadvantages of the service in some countries, for instance in Japan, or we will say in some parts of South America, the bad climate, the great expense of living, and the danger to life, whether some compensation might not be given in the shape of reducing the amount of service for a pension, or in other ways, say increasing the salaries?—If a man is sent to an unhealthy place in South America, or, as of late, in Japan, to a place where he has a chance of being wounded, I think that that man is entitled to some consideration. I do not think that our service is what you may call liberal; I do not think that they take the circumstances of a man and his position into sufficient consideration.

3948. I was looking particularly to the case of Japan, and the case of Caraccas, where three of our chargés d'affaires have died in succession within the last six years, one of them of yellow fever; and where the expense of living is considerable, and where the town has been three times taken, twice with very great slaughter, which of course was a considerable risk to property and to life?—Yes, to say nothing of earthquakes.

3949. Then I would ask your Lordship, with respect to South America, whether it might not be better to make those officers who are diplomatic officers with the rank of consuls general and chargé d'affaires, ministers resident, and thereby give them a claim to a rather increased pension?—I quite agree with that, and if I had been able to do it, I think that it would have been a very proper thing to give them an increase of salary. But now, in Chili and Peru, our agent and chargé d'affaires is in a lower position than his European colleagues, both in rank and in pay. It is mortifying to him individually and he is distressed at it, and I think that it takes away from his consideration. I should have been very glad indeed to have done what you suggest, and have only been deterred by the increased expense that it would be. I quite agree with you on the point.

3954. I should also like to ask your Lordship a few questions with

reference to Persia ; I would ask your Lordship whether you would not think it desirable for us, as much as lay in our power, rather to keep Persia within the Indian circle than to bring it into the European circle of politics?—No, I think it would not be for our interest.

3955. Your Lordship is of opinion that it would be better to bring it into the European circle?—Certainly, I have no doubt about that ; I wish I had, for I should be very happy to relieve the Foreign Office of the Persian Mission.

3956. Your Lordship is clear that it should be under the Foreign Office?—Quite so ; I have not the least doubt about it, and what is more I think that the tendency of things will make it more important every day that it should be so.

3957. But if it should be more agreeable to the Shah, would your Lordship's opinion then be changed?—Not a bit ; but that "if" is simply a very high improbability. I am quite sure it would not be more agreeable to him. I do not think that his relations with the Indian Government have been of such a kind that he would be predisposed to renew them.

*Mr. R. Shaw.*] The same witnesses who gave evidence that there was a block suggested at the time, as a mode of obtaining relief, that the junior members in the diplomatic service should be drafted into the consular service ; could your Lordship give us an opinion on that point?—I do not think that there would be any advantage in that.

3964. You think it desirable that the two services should be kept separate?—Yes.

3971. With reference to the stagnation in the promotion in the diplomatic service, do you think that it is slower than the promotion in the Army or Navy?—I really do not know that it is ; I am not very familiar with their pay or chances of promotion in the Army or Navy ; but certainly, particularly as regards the Navy, I may say, having many friends in it, that I never knew any one of them who had not some grievance of that sort to complain of.

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS JOHN HOVELL THURLOW.

3487. *Chairman.*] Have you considered whether you would continue in the profession with reference to this point of the length of service in the subordinate grades?—I have quite made up my mind to leave the service at the expiration of my present leave, for I see no prospect of rising in it.

3488. You have come to that determination on account of the very distant prospect of promotion in the profession?—Entirely on that account.

3492. You must in your experience have become familiar with a good many members of the same standing as yourself ; does the feeling prevail amongst them that you give expression to on your own account?—I should say that the feeling is universal, and I do not believe that many of them would remain in the service if they could see their way to a living out of it.

3501. Are you of opinion that the number of second and third secretaries and attachés could be diminished fully in proportion to the diminution of the missions?—I think that some plan ought to be hit upon for reducing them, so that you might have the same number of second and third secretaries as you have of first secretaries ; then the promotion would be regular throughout the profession.

3505. Then you would contemplate making it quite a close profession, and having no outsiders?—In that case it would be so.

3506. Then how would you provide for retirement at the top of the service ; would you wait for death vacancies, or incapacity, or would you superannuate them?—I think that the French have a system of super-

annuation after a certain age, and I think that would be a very good plan for us to adopt.

3512. Is there any reason why a minister or ambassador at seventy should not be quite as efficient as at fifty?—Not the least.

3513. Then it would rather be by way of keeping up the current of promotion that you would recommend such a system?—Yes.

3516. What would you do in the meantime to clear the present block? How would you get rid of the extra second secretaries who are now encumbering that rank?—I think that some of them might be drafted advantageously into the consular service, for instance, as vacancies occurred; or they might be induced, perhaps, to take all sorts of other patronage, at the disposal of the Government, in its different branches, to which they might be considered to have some claim.

3518. There are a great many posts at home that the Government have to dispose of which a great many first and second secretaries would be glad to take, and which they would be quite competent to fill; all sorts of inspectorships, and other things of that kind.

3520. But assuming that there is not a larger subordinate staff now than is requisite for the public service, what would you do in regard to the work which these gentlemen have hitherto been doing?—In the first place, I would establish a chancellor, such as they have in most of the continental diplomatic services, a system which works well.

3548. *Chairman.*] Is it your considered opinion that with the establishment of a chancellor at the embassies, and at Washington, and at Florence, and the use of copying presses, you could amply supply the want of power which might be created by taking off eleven second secretaries from the present staff?—Certainly; I consider that those who remained would be much more willing and quite equal to take any additional share of work which might accrue to them in consequence of such reduction; but I do not believe that the additional share of work would be anything very excessive.

3552. Have you any suggestions to make as to the rate of pay?—To begin with, I would certainly pay the unpaid attachés; I would give them a small remuneration, 100*l.* or 150*l.* a year, not so much because I consider that they want the money as to entitle the State to their best work. I think that the present system is very demoralising, under which a young man enters at twenty-three or twenty-four, and serves for an uncertain number of years unpaid; he considers that the State has no right to his labour very often.

3562. I would have embassies at Paris, St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Berlin, Vienna, Florence, and Washington, all great centres of correspondence. The ambassador, I think, should have 10,000*l.* a year and a house.

3563. Do you attach much importance to the providing of a house?—I attach the greatest importance to having an embassy house.

3564. You mean that it would be desirable for the public service?—Yes.

3565. In what way?—In the prestige that it gives to the ambassador to have such a house for his reception the moment that he arrives, instead of having to live at an hotel, and perhaps dine at the table d'hôte.

3571. Will you proceed to state your scheme?—The first secretaries of embassy should have, I think, 1,000*l.* a year. There should be at each embassy two second secretaries at 500*l.* a year each, and one third secretary at 250*l.* There should be two attachés at each embassy with 100*l.* a year a-piece, and one chancellor, with a maximum of, say 500*l.* The first-class missions, I think, should be at Madrid, Brussels, the Hague, Copenhagen, Rio, Pekin, Teheran. I would have a first secretary on 700*l.*, a



second secretary on 400*l.*, and a third secretary on 250*l.*, at each of those missions. Then, at the second-class missions, which would be Stockholm, Munich, Stuttgart, Mexico, Berne, Lisbon, Buenos Ayres, Athens, and Yeddo, I would have a first secretary on 600*l.*, and a third secretary on 250*l.* There would further be *chargés d'affaires*, as there are at present, at Tangiers, the Hanse Towns, Lima, Santiago, Monte Video, Caraccas, Port au Prince, Bogota, Central America, Quito, Coburg, Dresden, Rome, Darmstadt, Alexandria, Bucharest, and Tunis; and those *chargés d'affaires* should be appointed from the first secretaries of embassy or legation.

3574. With respect to the interchange of service between the Foreign Office and the Foreign Diplomatic Service, have you any opinion on that point?—I think that it would be highly desirable to increase the number of instances of such transfers.

3599. *Mr. Rylands.*] Do you not think it desirable that promotion should be other than routine; that it should have some reference to the capacity of the members of the service?—When a man has attained the rank of first secretary, I think that then the promotion ought to go by merit; but I think routine promotion up to the rank of first secretary should be the rule.

3600. You think, then, that there is no objection to the juniors in the service feeling that no activity or intelligence that they may possess can advance their promotion in any way?—No; I think, on the contrary, it is just as well that the subordinates should feel that nothing that they can do can advance their promotion up to the rank of first secretary. I think that too much zeal would be a very dangerous thing among *attachés*, paid or unpaid.

3605. You, of course, would object to the appointment of Mr. Layard as an outsider, I mean taking your principle and not making it a personal matter?—I consider that appointment very hard upon the service. I consider that there are many men in the service who have better claims, and, perhaps, equally good qualifications for the purpose of the minister at Madrid as Mr. Layard; and that is the light in which it is regarded by the service.

3606. Your idea is, I think, that, under no circumstances, ought there to be placed at the head of a mission any man who had not gone through the subordinate grades of the service?—As a general rule, most certainly that is so.

3609. There would be no reason to prevent a first secretary of legation remaining a first secretary of legation for 40 or 50 years, as is the case now; gentlemen in that position have been systematically passed over. A man at the top of the list of first secretaries has been constantly passed over for years and years, and I would have it so still, if the Secretary of State did not think that he was fit to be promoted.

3610. I wish it to be understood that my reason for not promoting a second secretary by merit is, that I consider it would create a very bad feeling in chanceries in the conduct of the business to have these young men *attachés* and third and second secretaries, who are at work in the same room, all trying to cut out each other in their daily work, each trying to distinguish himself unduly, and so on, to the detriment of his colleagues.

3621. And you propose by your plan still further to render this system a close and cramped system?—I do not consider that the closeness of the system has worked ill; quite the contrary. I think that there are as good men in the diplomatic service in the higher ranks as you will find in the higher ranks of any other service, and they have the benefit of long

experience with foreigners and of speaking foreign languages, and they are *au fait* at their work. That is not generally the case with outsiders. In Mr. Layard's case it is different; he had been in the Foreign Office many years before, and had served at Constantinople, and you may say that he is well qualified; but his is an exceptional case.

3631. *Mr. Rylands.*] There are, of course, two ways of looking at appointments of this kind; one is the point of view of the public interest, and the other the point of view of the service. Of course you will admit that it is to the public interest that the Foreign Secretary should have the greatest possible discretion in the appointment of men who are the most suited to these very important missions abroad?—Of course.

3633. You are quite aware that the Foreign Secretary may have to act in matters of this delicacy, on grounds that he could not properly be asked to state to the public?—Certainly.

3640. Is there not a difference in services? You can quite understand, for instance, that an admiral or a commander exposed to great physical hardships might be unfit for his duty at seventy, while a minister, not exposed to hardship, but whose experience was invaluable, might be at his prime at seventy; cannot you see that distinction?—It might be so certainly, but I can equally conceive that it might be the other way.

3641. But there you would come again to the discretion of the Secretary of State?—Yes.

3655. You think you would object to any means under which a larger opportunity of selection could be afforded, and under which the competitive principle would come in?—You might apply to the diplomatic service the competitive principle, which I believe now applies to the Foreign Office, where, on a vacancy occurring, there are three nominations, and the best of the three gets the appointment. Now, in the diplomatic service we have only a pass examination, a certain test, and I think that it would be a good thing perhaps to make it competitive in the same way as for the Foreign Office, but not more than that.

3661. You say that the profession is entirely one for rich men; but may not that, to some extent, arise from the mode in which the profession is carried on in other countries?—Well, I think that it would be a great mistake to try to isolate our English diplomatists from their colleagues on the Continent. At Paris, and Vienna, and Berlin, and these other places, no doubt, the more society that an English ambassador can see, and the more he can see of his colleagues, and the more lavish he can be, up to a certain point, the better.

3662. You think by that means he produces a certain amount of influence?—I think he produces a certain amount of influence, and he obtains a great deal of information which he otherwise would not obtain.

3663. You think that, in consequence of that sort of social intercourse, he obtains information of a valuable character to this country, which he would not obtain in any other way?—I think so.

3664. Would not that sort of information have reference chiefly to the private views or intentions of members of the Government, or of persons of influence in the Court?—Very likely; and I think that those bits of private information, as a rule, are much more important than all the public despatches that they have access to.

3684. Did you, in the experience which you have had in connection with the missions, ever find any complaint made by the heads of missions as to the fact that the juniors did not go much into society?—Yes.

3686. Can you give any reason why they did not go into society?—In the case of Paris, I should say that the great thing that keeps the juniors out of society is the hard work which they have all day at the embassy;

after copying seven or eight hours at the embassy, and getting off the bag just in time for a late dinner, they do not feel inclined to take the trouble to dress and go into society; they prefer to spend the evening otherwise.

3687. You think that they are tired with over-work?—Certainly, as regards Paris, it is the work of the embassy in the afternoon and evenings that keeps them out of ball-rooms.

3697. And you think that the success of Russian diplomacy with the United States of America has been in consequence of the great display caused by the profuse expenditure of the Russian diplomatic officials?—I say that it has been very much furthered by that. I think that you can hardly over-estimate the value of a liberal diplomatic expenditure.

3699. You are aware that the United States do not spend money profusely?—I believe, in fact I know, that it has been under consideration more than once of late years in America to establish a close diplomatic service on the exact footing of our own; and the Committee of Foreign Relations at Washington has been occupied for the last two years in trying to draft a plan of service of the same kind as our own. That shows that they are not quite satisfied with what they have got.

3707. You have said, in reference to an embassy house, that it was desirable that there should be a residence for the ambassador, because it gave him more prestige?—Yes.

3708. Which is consistent with the opinion which you are now expressing, that diplomatic pomp and prestige are more important now than they were in former years?—I think that they are fully as important; they certainly are not less important.

3711. *Mr. Cartwright.*] From your knowledge of the United States would you think that a good deal depends on the pomp and display of our legation at Washington?—I consider it of very great importance that we should have a handsome establishment at Washington; and I think that we ought to have the same establishment there as we have at all our other embassies.

3759. *Mr. W. Lowther.*] Do you think that on the whole the representatives of the United States enjoy the same position at foreign capitals as the representatives of other countries?—I should say that owing to the system that is followed in the conduct of the United States diplomacy, they most certainly do not occupy so good a position as our diplomatists abroad.

3761. Do the United States ministers know generally what is going on in the country?—I should say that they are not by any means as well informed as our ministers are.

3766. With regard to the gentlemen at the embassy of Paris, have they to work after dinner sometimes?—Very frequently all night. I know that when I was there an uninterrupted night's rest was a very great rarity; we used always to have to leave our addresses, and we used to be sent for at three or four in the morning or at any hour, to decipher telegrams.

3769. Have you observed that amongst the subordinates in the diplomatic service, any man who has acquired a special knowledge of any language has been rather promoted over the heads of others?—No, I have not observed that.

3778. *Mr. Otway.*] I learn by the paper which you have handed to the Chairman, that you are about to leave the service?—At the expiration of my present leave.

3779. Will you allow me to say that I learn it now, with regret, for the first time? I see that you have propounded a scheme for having seven ambassadors, at 10,000*l.* a year each; and so many ministers, I think, at 6,000*l.* a year. Now I see that the whole diplomatic service, taking

ambassadors and attachés, and all together, amounts to 125 persons, speaking roughly?—Yes.

3780. Are you aware of any profession or any service in the world which would admit of so many prizes among 125 men as seven prizes of 10,000*l.* a year, and so many at 6,000*l.* a year, to be confined exclusively to these 125 members; or has such a profession ever been contemplated?—I should say that the Indian Civil Service is much better as regards pay than our diplomatic service.

3781. But with regard to the number of prizes, are there anything like seven posts in India of 10,000*l.* a year?—Much more than that number.

3782. You must exclude, of course, the governors of presidencies?—Yes; but taking the members of council and the lieutenant-governors, you have a great many more than that number.

3783. And also you must look to the proportion of men in the Indian Civil Service?—The Indian Civil Service proper is not at all a large service.

3786. You object to any gentleman, not one of these 125, ever being appointed to an embassy or mission?—I consider that the interests of the public service would be best promoted by the appointment of a person from the 125. Of course, if the Secretary of State can say that he has no man of the right sort available in that number, there must be one taken from outside.

3801. I observe that you have in your evidence, to which I have listened very carefully, spoken of the convenience of individuals, but above the convenience of individuals you must always put the public service, must you not?—Yes, certainly; but I maintain that the public service is not furthered by having a discontented service, and I think that our diplomatic service is becoming a discontented service, and that the public service will suffer from that; as it is now the attachés on first joining receive no pay, and do as little work as they can; and in the same way now you have a larger staff than I think would be necessary if they all worked with a will, which they would do if they saw a chance of getting on. Now they work with a will if they like, but if they do not they get on just as fast, and I contend that it cannot be for the public interest to have a discontented service, and, as I say, the service is becoming more and more discontented.

3802. I wish it to be understood that I made my suggestions always with a view to the public service being served in the long run.

3810. *Chairman.*] As I understand you, when you were at Washington, the mission had letters from the American Government constantly, which you could see had been copied by the press?—Yes.

3811. Were these regularly bound and filed with the other papers?—Yes, they were bound with the other archives.

3812. Have you had any evidence of their perishing?—Not the least, while I was there.

3813. *Viscount Barrington.*] Did I rightly understand you to say that you are satisfied with the present system of examination on entering the service?—Yes, on the whole, I am quite satisfied with it. I think that it would be better to have one examination, and I think that you might, with advantage, introduce the Foreign Office system of having a competitive examination among three nominations; but I have no particular remarks to make about the examination.

3814. You are against gentlemen entering the service for a certain length of time, without making it a profession, and having a stricter second examination for those who mean to continue in the profession?—No, I cannot say that I am against that at all.

3819. What is your experience with regard to telegraphic communication; do you think that it diminishes work or that it increases it?—I think that it increases work very much.

3831. *Mr. Cameron.*] Some suggestion has been made to this Committee of the employment of clerks of an inferior social position to the ordinary attachés and secretaries; do you think that that would be productive of benefit to the service?—I do not see any objection against it.

3836. Have you any observations to make about any rules that you would suggest with regard to marriage among the junior members of our diplomatic service?—I think, as regards marriage, that we might take another leaf out of the book of the French service with great advantage. If I am rightly informed, in the French service it is necessary for a junior before he can marry to get the consent of his chief and of the French Foreign Office; and I think it would be productive of very good results if we had a regulation of the same kind.

3837. Have you ever thought, as a means by which the block in the service might be removed, of reverting to the old practice of allowing ambassadors to appoint attachés themselves, it being understood that such attachés are not part of the regular service, but that they form merely a class of extra attachés, and that when the minister retires or resigns, the attaché shall not be considered to have any claim on the service?—Yes; I consider that that would be a very good plan, and that it would facilitate the reduction of the ten or eleven second secretaries which I advocate very much.

3843. *Mr. Kinnaird.*] Owing to the evident block in the service, and the partial discontent which exists, you are not sorry, perhaps, that an examination of this nature has taken place?—Quite the contrary.

#### MR. ALGERNON BERTRAM MITFORD.

3987. *Chairman.*] We have been told that there is a considerable amount of dissatisfaction in the junior branches of the service at the very poor prospects of advancement; do you confirm that opinion?—Certainly.

3988. Have you ever made any calculation as to when you have a reasonable prospect of becoming a first secretary?—I should imagine in about from 10 to 12 years from this time.

3989. How old would you be then?—In 12 years I should be 46 years of age.

3990. Have you any estimate of how long it would take you to rise from a first secretaryship to a ministry?—I should think about 14 or 16 years.

3991. You could not, as I understand you, expect to rise to the highest grade under about 60 years of age?—Exactly so.

3992. That is a practical example of what is commonly called the block in the profession?—Yes, it is a very practical example of it.

3994. Have you ever applied your mind to suggesting a remedy?—I have very often thought that promotion entirely by seniority is the cause of the unfairness of the block; not the cause of the block itself, but the cause of what may be termed its unfairness.

3995. Every man, good or bad, goes up according to seniority, you mean?—There is no encouragement whatever to a man to do his work well, simply because he sees his neighbour who is shirking his work, and shuffling, go up, as he himself might do, knowing at the same time that he is working hard in the interests of his country.

3997. May I ask, when you went to Japan had you any acquaintance

with Oriental languages at all?—When I went to Japan I had already studied Chinese a considerable time.

3998. Are you now acquainted with both languages?—Yes.

4000. Is any inducement held out to gentlemen to make themselves masters of those languages?—On the contrary, there is every inducement to them not to make themselves masters of those languages.

4001. How so?—Simply for this reason, that if a man studies those languages, it is a matter of great personal cost to himself.

4020. I understand you to say that your diplomatic chief recommended your case for consideration to the Foreign Office for some remuneration, in consequence of what you had spent in learning the language?—He recommended me for the sum of 200*l.* to be paid to me, and the Treasury refused it.

4023. *Viscount Barrington.*] Is the amount of salary that you receive there at all commensurate with the expenses attending your situation?—No; I receive 400*l.*, and I spend 800*l.*

4024. Is the style of living extremely expensive out there?—The style of living is expensive, on account of the extravagance of the merchants, who have raised the prices of everything; and it is also necessary, I think, if you wish to keep up your position at all towards the natives, that you should live in a suitable manner.

4025. That you should entertain to a certain extent?—Certainly; I was called upon to entertain rather largely.

4026. Junior members of the mission, do you mean?—The secretary of legation and myself used to mess together, and we constantly had people of the rank of the foreign minister and other Japanese noblemen, and persons of rank dining with us, and breakfasting with us; then, of course, also any travelling Englishmen who might come out and bring letters of introduction, would expect to lodge at our house for a week or a fortnight, or three weeks together.

4029. I suppose that these student interpreters who are attached to the mission are like dragomans?—They are a higher class than that, they rise to be consul.

4030. They find it excessively hard to live upon their salary of 200*l.* a year; those in Japan are really in a seriously inconvenient position.

4046. *Mr. W. Cartwright.*] I think you suggest that there should be no promotion strictly by seniority?—I consider that promotion entirely by seniority is not a good thing, *cæteris paribus* of course the senior man should go up, but when a man has special talents or acquirements I do not see why he should not be promoted.

4047. Up to the rank of first secretary?—I do not see why he should not be promoted in the case I have supposed.

4048. *Mr. Cameron.*] Do not you think that if promotion by seniority were done away with, it might give rise to a suspicion of favouritism on the part of the Principal Secretary of State?—I think, as a rule, in a small service like ours, the working men are so well known to the rest of the service, that the Secretary of State could hardly be suspected of favouritism in promoting them.

4053. Did I rightly understand you to say that the service in China and Japan might be so far separated from the other portions of the diplomatic service, and the work be done entirely by interpreters?—No; I think that would be the very worst thing. I am entirely against the employment of specialists in these higher branches of the diplomatic service in China and Japan. I believe that a good man in Europe is a good man in China and Japan; and the best proof we had of that was Sir Frederick Bruce. Never had a minister more personal influence than he had.

4054. Then you think that the system of interchange should still be kept up between the missions in Europe and the missions in Japan and China?—I am quite certain that it is for the advantage of the missions in China and Japan that it should be so. Whether the gentlemen who went into the service, bargaining that they should be employed in posts in Europe and America, would care to go out to China and Japan I do not know, but I am quite sure that it is an advantage to our nation that in dealing with Asiatics we should have the highest class of gentlemen we can to represent us.

4055. If you required the consent of these gentlemen to go to China and Japan, that would at once make a distinction?—Of the inadvisability of such a distinction I do not think there could be a doubt.

4090. *Mr. Eastwick.*] I would like to ask you, with regard to the expense of learning the language of Japan, does it cost about 80*l.* a year?—Yes.

4091. What do you think would be a fair donation for Government to give to a gentleman who studies the language?

4094. You think that 80*l.* a year would be a fair sum to allow in respect of the language?—Yes.

4096. And how long were you studying Japanese?

4097. It took me about a year and a-half working steadily, often as much as eight or ten hours a day, before I was intelligible in Japanese, or intelligent in it.

4100. You would say, I suppose, that you require eighteen months for that?—A man ought to do it in a year. Any European language is much easier to learn, because you have not to learn a new order of thought.

4107. Would it not often be a fair thing that the term of service for pensions should be rather reduced in the case of men serving in unhealthy climates?—Only fair; nothing more than fair. And I think another thing should be noticed in view of the climate: a man is supposed to be allowed to come home at the end of five years, and at the end of those five years he has half his passage to Southampton paid to him, and half his passage out again. Now the Russians behave much more liberally to their *employés* out in those countries. At the end of five years' service they give a man treble the entire cost of the journey to come home; that is to say, they give him his journey home, as much again, and his journey out again; and it appears to me that that is a very fair reward. If a man stays five years in those countries he is sure to have suffered more or less, and it is a great banishment.

4111. Do you think that there is any advantage afforded to a man by a college life when he enters the diplomatic service?—He probably starts in life in debt, and has lost three years' valuable time.

4127. *Mr. Rylands.*] Have you formed any opinion as to how far it would be desirable that the Eastern embassies and missions should be considered a class apart?—I am decidedly of opinion that they should not be considered a class apart.

4131. Is it seriously your opinion that there would be no disadvantage or inconvenience in recruiting the higher ranks of the service in the East, I mean not only the heads of the missions, but also the secretaries of legation, by drawing from the European missions men totally ignorant of the customs of the East, and of the Chinese and Japanese language?—Certainly I am of that opinion.

4145. I do not separate the East from Europe. My idea is, that no people in the world have such a keen eye for a gentleman, a man of high breeding, as the Asiatics; and certainly in dealing with them I would

employ men of as high breeding and birth as I could get to represent this country.

4147. So that if you have two gentlemen of equal ability and of equal distinction in other capacities, one of whom knows the Chinese language and the customs of the people thoroughly, it would be advisable to send that man to China rather than the other?—Yes; but I would any day rather send a man who was a thorough gentleman, and a man of distinction (and ability, of course), to China, without any knowledge of Chinese, than I would send a man of the class to whom allusion has frequently been made in this Committee, as to whether they would not be proper men to appoint to the diplomatic service, however good his knowledge of Chinese might be.

4149. That is to say, that you think that if it were known by the junior members of the service that in consequence of their intelligence and their care they would be likely to have promotion, that would be an inducement to their doing their work more efficiently than otherwise might be the case?—Certainly.

4150. A gentleman who has held the position of second secretary of legation expresses a fear that promotion by merit would create bad feeling?—I do not think that there is any reason to feel any alarm on that score.

4151. And, with regard to any question of favouritism, the promotion depending, as it would do, very much upon the recommendation of the head of the mission, you do not consider that if it were felt, as it would be, in the service, that the promotion was on justifiable grounds, there would be any reason to fear any public expression of dissatisfaction?—No.

4153. I should like to know whether you think that any saving of labour might be advantageously obtained in the missions by the use of copying presses?—No, I do not think that copying papers would answer in missions at all.

4186. *Mr. Rylands.*] Then with regard to despatches, is there much copying in Paris of despatches sent under flying seal?—Yes.

4187. And all that work, you think, is better done by the juniors in the embassy than it would be by any permanent clerk?—It is very confidential work, you know.

4188. And you think that that would be an objection to the appointment of a number of clerks for a great part of the work in the Paris embassy?—A great deal might be done by anybody. Such things as the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, the transfer of lunatics between the two countries, and small petty claims between fishermen on our side and fishermen on the French side, might be done naturally by anybody.

4189. *Mr. Otway.*] Generally speaking, you are of opinion that much of the work that comes to an embassy or legation is of a confidential character, requiring a man in whose discretion and honour you can have confidence to deal with it?—Yes.

4195. Do you think that members, looking to your general knowledge of circumstances, might be induced to retire from your rank in the profession, and the block thereby be relieved, by gratuities being given to them?—I should say it would depend entirely upon the amount of the gratuity.

4196. Of course, when I put the question, I meant a gratuity of a moderate character, but one that would be a temptation to a man, being based on the salary he had been receiving?—I should certainly be tempted myself by a good gratuity.

4199. Now, coming to Japan, there have been great changes in that country lately, have there not?—Immense changes.



4200. Of which you have furnished a very full, and, I may say, a very interesting account. Do you think that our diplomacy has in any way affected those changes in the government of the Mikado?—Most certainly I do; I think that the moral support that the English gave to the Mikado's party constantly, almost from its very birth, was one main cause of its success.

4201. And I think there can be no doubt in your mind that those changes will be beneficial to this country and to Europe generally?—Certainly, because in former days you had in Japan a government which was no government, a government only ruling over small patches of territory here and there, and not recognised by the nation at large, whereas now you have an intelligible government recognised by the nation at large, and this government is giving signs of its intelligence by promoting such things as railroads and telegraphs.

4214. *Mr. Otway.*] How do the other foreign legations act in regard to entertaining?—The other foreign legations reside principally at Yokohama, never see the Japanese at all, but live entirely amongst themselves, and play a very secondary part in the country.

4217. *Chairman.*] Is there a large commercial body established now at Yokohama?—A very large body, and also at Yeddo, Hiogo, Osaka, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodate.

4218. And are there English merchants in those places?—Yes, a large number.

4221. I was going to ask whether your own knowledge of Japanese could be turned to account in that part of the world, if you directed your abilities in that line of life?—I have had two or three offers made me.

SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF, K.C.M.G.

4224. *Mr. Rylands.*] Have you formed any opinion as to how far diplomacy should be considered an exclusive profession?—I think that it must be considered an exclusive profession up to a certain point. I do not see how you can get men of sufficient calibre and education to go abroad, unless you hold out some hopes of promotion to them.

4225. Would you think that those hopes would be sufficiently strong in the case of a routine promotion without there being a certain amount of promotion dependent upon merit?—No; I think that the promotion should entirely depend on merit.

4226. From your experience of missions abroad, are you of opinion that any steps should be taken by means of which there would be a diminution of the number of juniors in proportion to the occupants of the higher offices in the profession?—In my opinion, the whole system might be improved by a general revision. I am not speaking at all of the *personnel* of the diplomatic or consular service; because I think that individually our diplomatists are the best men; they are superior to the diplomatic servants of any other country. At the same time I think that you might improve their position generally and render the service more efficient by a general amalgamation of all branches of the service, the Foreign Office, the consular service, and the diplomatic service, by establishing equivalent ranks, as I believe that they are called in the Army, in each one of these branches of the service; and then you might appoint second secretaries to first-rate consulates, and make it a *sine quâ non* that a second secretary should go through a first-rate consulate before he was made a first secretary. By that means you would, in the first place, improve the position of the second secretary. You have men now almost eating their hearts out at 300*l.* or 400*l.* a-year, at the age of 27 or 28; whereas if

they got these consulates they might get 700*l.*, or 800*l.*, or 1,000*l.* a year, which would be an adequate provision for them, while they would also be learning a great deal of the routine of commerce, which is now the principal element in the business of a diplomatic establishment.

4228. There are one or two posts which really require a diplomatist and politician, but which are reserved for the consular service, simply because they are called consular posts. For instance, the consul general at Bucharest, the consul general at Tunis, and the consul general in Egypt, are practically ministers. They are not consuls in the generally accepted sense of the word "consuls." They are diplomatists; but because these happen to be consular appointments, they are given to men who are consuls, and these men come to these posts as the height of their career, and are unable to aspire to anything higher, because they are consuls. A great many posts besides those I have mentioned are now held by consuls which might be held by diplomatists.

4251. *Mr. Rylands.*] Have you ever seen any reason to consider that frequent transference was objectionable?—No; I think it is good. I think it is a very bad thing for any diplomatist of any rank to remain too long at one post.

4252. For instance, my idea is that the ambassador at Paris should always change with the Government, and that other ambassadors should get their appointments for not more than six years at a time, like governors of colonies. They might be sent to another post, but they should not remain in one place too long a time; I think that if they do they get too much acclimatised and naturalised.

4254. Eastern diplomacy is a very different thing from diplomacy in Europe?—I think that it is very different with regard to its effect upon the people, but if you wish an opinion to the effect that Western diplomatists should not be made use of in the East, I should not go all the way with you there.

4257. I understand your scheme for the highest post in the service to be this: you recommend that in regard to the ambassadors they should all be appointed at the will of the minister of the day, from outsiders, if he should so think fit?—I think so.

4258. That with regard to ministers plenipotentiary, that should be the recognised reward of men of the diplomatic profession?—Yes.

4261. You would not consider that the fact that a man had arrived at the point of minister from the lowest rank of the diplomatic service was any reason why he should not be appointed to an embassy by the Secretary of State if he seemed a suitable man to be so appointed?—No.

4262. That you would say that the Secretary of State should have the power of appointment as to the embassies, and should appoint men of mark?—I think that a professional diplomatist ought to have the preference so long as there really was no man of great mark to take the embassy.

MR. ROBERT BURNET DAVID MORIER, C.B.

4264. *Chairman.*] You are a secretary of legation in the diplomatic service?—Yes.

4265. And your post is at Darmstadt?—Yes.

4266. Will you be good enough to inform the Committee how the other European countries are represented at Darmstadt?—There are French, Austrian, Prussian, Russian, and Bavarian missions. All the heads of these missions are envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, with the exception of the Frenchman, who is minister plenipotentiary, and

the present Russian, who is minister resident ; till lately, the Russian was also envoy extraordinary.

4267. These missions have the ordinary staff of a minister plenipotentiary, I presume?—Yes, they have got secretaries.

4272. The peculiar position of Darmstadt, to which you just alluded, renders it desirable in your opinion, does it not, that this country should also, as wishing to be informed of political events in Germany, have a representative there?—That depends upon the view which is taken of the diplomatic service. If the functions of diplomacy are purely those of treating matters which immediately concern Great Britain, I cannot say that the post of Darmstadt is one of importance. It certainly is one of importance as regards watching the events which are going on in connection with the reconstruction of Germany.

4276. Will you give us an idea, from your own experience, by stating the work that may have devolved on you to do at Darmstadt?—I have had to draw up a report upon the co-operative institutions of Germany, and a second report upon land tenure ; and I have received instructions to write a report upon the industrial status of the working classes in what is a great manufacturing centre of Germany. This work is quite independent of the work of reporting upon political subjects, and the work connected with British subjects, which is exceedingly variable ; I know that with regard to my report upon land tenure, it gave me three or four months of the very hardest work that I ever had in my life.

4279. Will you give us the advantage of your opinions on the cause of the block, and any suggestions that may occur to you by which promotion may be augmented, or the impediment to promotion removed?—My own impression of the block is, that it is the result of the alterations made in the diplomatic service consequent upon the recommendations of the Committee which sat in 1861. This feeling of absolute, total, and complete hopelessness, which every junior member of the service has, did not in those days exist.

4280. There are many different ways by which you can remove the momentary block. You can bribe a certain number of men out of the service ; you can give them openings elsewhere ; but the desideratum is to retain the good men, and to get rid of the bad men ; and that is a very difficult thing to do.

4281. Do you think that a system of gratuity based on the calculation of the salary received by the junior members of the diplomatic service would induce many members to leave it?—The objection to that seems to me, that it might induce the good men to go and keep the bad men in. A man who obtains a gratuity and has got a status in the service is a man very likely to get employment elsewhere.

4282. But that objection would cease if the Secretary of State exercised his discretion in offering such a gratuity to individuals, would it not?—Yes, perfectly. Then you come back to what I believe to be the only possible system in so small a service as the diplomatic—that is, promotion wholly, solely, and entirely by the fitness of the man for the place.

4283. You would not attach any importance to the impression that might prevail of the action of political pressure on and favouritism on the part of the Secretary of State?—Absolutely none ; I look upon that as being as completely dead and gone as rotten boroughs.

4285. I cannot see any way in which a service like the diplomatic can be worked, except by heaping up responsibility upon the shoulders of your Foreign Secretary. The moment that you make him completely responsible, as a mere matter of self-preservation, he must look out for the best men. He cannot bear all that weight upon his back

unless he has good men under him to help him. It is the condition of all good service to make a man responsible for his work, to break his neck if he does not do it well; and if he does do it well, to let him have all honour.

4286. Does it appear to you that, to a certain extent, the Secretary of State becomes absolved from his responsibility if he has to follow a routine of seniority?—Completely and entirely.

4288. I presume that at Darmstadt, if the modest English representation which already exists there, which I understand costs the country 700*l.* a year, were withdrawn, irrespective altogether of the gentleman who might be chargé d'affaires or might fill the position that you fill there, it would be felt by the Grand Ducal Court as a slur upon their position?—Certainly; it would be considered a very marked act of discourtesy.

4307. *Viscount Barrington.*] Have you ever considered the possibility of amalgamating the diplomatic and consular services in any kind of way?—My feeling about the amalgamation of those two services is this: I believe that there are a certain number of appointments which have the name of consular, but which are really political appointments. I have a strong feeling that the appointments which are in their nature political, should be amalgamated wholly with the diplomatic service, that is to say, that no man should have an appointment of that sort who had not had the training which can only be obtained in diplomacy. As far as that goes, I should be entirely for amalgamating the political consulships with the diplomatic service.

4308. Would you mention the consular posts which you allude to?—There is Bucharest; that of course is a political post. Egypt again, Warsaw, and Tunis.

4309. And do you think that would cause any very great jealousy on the part of the present occupants of consular posts?—It seems to me that the public service ought to be the criterion for all questions of that kind.

4310. What is your opinion with regard to the changes that ought to take place in diplomatic posts?—I should disagree with anything like any very absolute rule. I think that the international knowledge required for diplomatic purposes is so different in kind and degree that it is impossible to apply a rule. I think it important that we should have a certain number of men in the service who have a thorough, complete, and entire knowledge of the different countries in Europe. Now, two years will give that knowledge about some countries, or even less than that will do it; with regard to others, two years is just enough to give a man the A.B.C.

4311. With regard to the chiefs of missions, do you think that the same rule ought to apply to them?—I think that the fewer rules you make the better.

4312. *Mr. A. Russell.*] It was suggested by Sir Henry Wolff on Monday that the ambassador at Paris ought to change with the Government, that the ambassador at Constantinople ought to hold his office permanently till he is superannuated, and that the ambassadors at other posts ought to hold their appointments only for six years; do you think that rules of that kind can be enforced with any advantage?—I should wholly dissent from them.

4313. *Viscount Barrington.*] If any rule of that sort were made absolute, so as to involve having changes at the principal missions with every change of Government, it would entail a very large expense upon the country in the way of outfit, would it not?—Certainly.

4314. What do you think about exchanges taking place between the Foreign Office and the juniors in missions?—As regards the efficiency of

the diplomatic agents, it would be of incalculable service to have men in the Foreign Office who had personal experience of the diplomatic service. Instead of having the exchange voluntary, I should wish to see it obligatory. I should wish, for instance, this kind of thing, that the head of the French Department in the Foreign Office should at some period of his career have served in France, and if possible as first secretary of embassy at Paris; similarly I should wish the head of the German Department to have served at least a year as secretary of embassy and chargé d'affaires at Berlin and Vienna, and so on. I say this, because it makes the whole difference in the sort of interest that one has in one's work, and in the power of really doing good work, whether you are writing to persons who are personally acquainted with the subject upon which you write to them. I will take such an instance as Japan. I daresay you have read Mr. Mitford's papers in the "Fortnightly." It would make the whole difference to you if you happened to be minister in Japan, if you had such a man as that at the head of the Oriental Department, and if you wrote to him under the sense that he could enter into everything that you were saying.

4316. *Chairman.*] I should like to have as part of the system of the Foreign Office what has been the case practically ever since Lord Clarendon has been Foreign Minister. Lord Clarendon has been himself employed abroad, and has an exceptional knowledge of everything connected with foreign persons, and not only foreign politics, but all those numerous questions that are now interesting the English public. I think that every person who has served in diplomacy during the last 15 years will say the same thing that I do, which is that no attaché, however obscure, could write a memorandum on any subject connected with either political or social questions, or any question of general interest, which would not be submitted to the most accurate criticism by the Foreign Secretary himself. I can say of myself that the first thing which gave me a keen interest in the diplomatic profession was the criticism made by Lord Clarendon upon a report of mine when I was an unpaid attaché at Vienna. At the present time every diplomatic agent knows that he will have a perfect master in the art of criticism, judging the work that he sends home. That is the case with Lord Clarendon; and what I should like to see in the Foreign Office would be that there should be a certain body of men who had that interest and that knowledge, and who could sit as critics of the work that we do. It is a great check upon a man who is not a conscientious reporter, and who likes to indulge in fine writing, to know that the man who reads is thoroughly and completely conversant with the facts about which he writes; and on the other hand it is a great advantage to a man who is conscientious, and who is really trying to do good work, to know that his work will be understood and appreciated.

4317. It seems to me that if there were a desire to do the thing, the thing could be easily done. The moment you make these changes compulsory, you get over the difficulty. If you force a man after, say, five years of his career abroad, to spend one year in the Foreign Office, he grows up knowing the work of the Foreign Office; and there is no sort of reason why the secretary of embassy at Paris should not exchange for a year with the head of the French Department in the Foreign Office.

4318. But supposing that the circumstances of the head of the French Department did not allow him to go and live in Paris?—Then you must pay him. If the thing is desirable and good for the foreign service, I cannot see that the question of a few hundred pounds a year would come in at all.

4320. *Mr. Rylands.*] I think I understood you to say in regard to the plan you have been suggesting, that it had reference more particularly to

the desirableness in your opinion of the senior clerks attached to the different departments of European and foreign diplomacy being, if possible, men who had a practical experience in that part of the world to which they are attached in the Foreign Office arrangements?—That is the way I put it.

4321. There are exceedingly able men in the Foreign Office; everybody who has had to deal with them knows that there are exceedingly able men there. But everybody must feel that it is a perfectly different thing to have a sort of abstract knowledge of foreign matters from what it is to have a practical knowledge of them.

4322. *Chairman.*] Have you considered the practical working of this scheme at all that you have been suggesting?—I have not considered it in its technical details, because I have not the data to study it in that light. I only think that in itself it is an exceedingly desirable thing, and that with the enormous amount of every kind of work that is being given to us to do now, there should be a corresponding personal knowledge in the Foreign Office to control that work.

4325. *Viscount Barrington.*] I suppose you might fairly consider Lord Clarendon's position, having previously served in a diplomatic career a great many years, as a fair corroboration of your view?—I think very much so indeed; I am speaking not only from my own personal experience, but from that of the greater number of the members of the diplomatic service. The whole of that unmistakable zeal which anybody may see who takes the trouble of reading these Blue Book Reports, comes from the sort of personal interest taken by Lord Clarendon in this more or less external work of diplomacy; I mean from that kind of careful criticism which he gives to everybody's work.

4328. *Viscount Barrington.*] To turn to another subject, I suppose that entertaining as you do the highest possible view of the responsibility of the Foreign Secretary in this country, you would, notwithstanding the fact of the diplomatic service now being looked upon entirely as a profession, not object to the appointment occasionally of what are called outsiders to the higher posts?—The diplomatic service is not numerically sufficiently large to be treated as a profession. There are 122 persons in the diplomatic service, and if I remember right there are, out of that number of 122, something like 64 persons who are either heads of missions or first secretaries of legation, that is to say, persons who at any moment may have the full international responsibility of such a state as Great Britain put upon their shoulders. With 122 persons, 64 of whom are, so to speak, field-marsals, you cannot do it, and therefore you have got this difficulty, that you cannot, in my opinion, treat diplomacy as a profession in the same way as you can treat other branches of the public service. On the other hand, there is no branch of the public service which requires a more thorough professional knowledge than diplomacy; there is no branch of the service which requires such careful preparation and such long training; and what you have to do is to find some means or other by which these two difficulties can be reconciled. My own idea would be that, if I were starting perfectly clear, if I had to do the thing myself, I would have an upper class not necessarily professional, a middle class absolutely professional, and a third class wholly unprofessional. The sort of thing that I think could be established would be this: you have got your envoys, who have to do the actual negotiation between Great Britain and other countries; you have your secretaries, whose principal function is that of collecting and imparting information to the Government; and then you require raw material out of which you can select your secretaries. I should propose going back to the old system of unpaid attachés.

I should give an absolutely unlimited power to the Foreign Secretary to appoint as many unpaid attachés as he wished ; and I should require no sort or kind of examination for the purpose of being named unpaid attaché. The advantage which a man obtained by being unpaid attaché would be that he would be allowed to present himself for examination, not for a competitive examination, but for a test examination. But instead of having what we have had hitherto, which seems to me the great mistake of the system, a minimum test examination, I would have a maximum test examination ; that is to say, I would have an examination of the very highest possible kind, so that a man who had passed that examination should be, as tested by that examination, up to the very highest class of work that could be given to him ; and this class of persons should receive sufficient pay to make such a post in itself desirable ; that is to say, the remuneration should be sufficiently high to make it worth a man's while to go in for this, irrespectively of anything else ; and that could be very easily done, because the moment you fix such a standard as that, you are certain to have only a limited number of men capable of passing such an examination ; and, in the second place, they are perfectly worth the money. These men should know that by distinguishing themselves and acting up to the standard we had proved by their examination they had attained, they would, more or less, as a matter of course, become envoys. The higher missions should be open to this class of men, perfectly irrespectively of the time that they had served ; that is to say, it should be wholly a service by merit. If you once had that system there would be then no sort of difficulty in appointing outsiders into the higher service. The injustice of appointing outsiders at present is, that you have made the profession a seniority service, and therefore, having made it a seniority service, we get to this disagreeable position for all of us, that when we have worked up to within one or two of this goal which we have before us, namely, a mission, then an outsider is suddenly taken and put in front of us, on the plea that he is the best man. Supposing that the fifth or sixth man on the list is the very best man in the world, he cannot be put there, because it would be going against the seniority of the service, but somebody else, an outsider, is put there. The injustice consists wholly and entirely in combining outsiders with the seniority system. I am strongly of opinion that the moment you get rid of the seniority system, there is no sort of reason why a man, if he is specially fitted for a post, should not be appointed to it, even if he is an outsider.

4335. Now I should like to ask your opinion about the appointment of clerks in the different missions ?

4336. If you mean, as a substitute for the service of attachés and secretaries, to have copying clerks for the general work of the service, I should certainly be excessively averse to that.

4337. What would be your reasons for objecting to them ?—I think that one cannot sufficiently bear in mind that the vital principle of international intercourse is confidence. What credit is to commerce confidence is to international intercourse ; and there is nothing in the world so delicate as either credit or confidence of that sort ; and if you come to examine either the one or the other, I think you will find that it resolves itself into the kind of opinion which one person forms of another person. If I have to accept a bill at six months, I look at the name of the firm ; it is very difficult to analyse the process further than that. The sort of feeling and belief that I have in regard to that firm is made up of all sorts of traditions and impressions which it would be impossible to analyse ; it is the sort of belief that I have in a particular name. If you examine this process as regards international intercourse, when a man like Prince

Gortschakoff or Ali Pacha confides a secret, an important State secret, to Her Majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburg, or at Constantinople, what he has in his mind is an unconscious judgment which he has come to with regard to, not Lord Clarendon, or Lord Granville, or Lord Aberdeen, personally, but with regard to the firm, so to speak, which is represented by the British Foreign Office. He knows when he confides that secret, that within a few hours a certain number of attachés and secretaries will know all about it, and that within a few days a certain number of persons in the Foreign Office will know all about it. His confidence is based upon the idea that the foreign minister under whom all these persons are serving is personally responsible for the sacredness with which that secret will be treated; and I do not think that you can afford to diminish this confidence, because, as I say, it is the soul of international intercourse.

4339. In fact, you do not think that it would be to the advantage of the service that any change like that should take place?—I think it would be the very worst thing in the world that could happen.

4346. You thoroughly approve of this modern system of reports?—Yes, I think it is of enormous advantage as an education for the diplomatic service on the one hand, and I think it is of the greatest possible importance that we should, as a nation, get to know something of what is done outside Great Britain.

4347. I understand the question to be, what would be the best use of a young diplomatist's time abroad. Well, the actual amount of knowledge which a diplomatist has to master before he can fit himself for the work is so great, because the peculiar feature of the day is the way in which political questions, and social questions, and religious questions, and scientific questions, are all dovetailed the one into the other, that the time of a man who really wishes to fit himself for his work is more than filled. According to the scheme that I laid down just now, I should pre-suppose a special diplomatic education of a very different kind from any that has been thought of as yet, and that would take up a man's whole time for several years of his life. To tell you the honest truth, I think that there is uncommonly little spare time at present.

4348. That is just what I want to get at; some gentlemen are of opinion that the public service would be best advanced by having fixed hours for office attendance, and by reducing the number of younger members of the mission to such an extent that they would be largely occupied by copying despatches; I wish to know whether you think that the best training of a young diplomatist, or whether he would not be serving his country better by mixing largely in all classes of society, by studying the colloquial language of the country, and by travelling over the country in which he is placed?—I think that the more you can diminish his mere mechanical work, and the more you can give him of the higher class of work, the better; there is no doubt about that.

4350. With regard to open competition for diplomatic appointments, it has been suggested that it would be better to throw open all these offices to open competition; what is your opinion of that, with a view to the public service?—I conceive that it is absolutely necessary that the Foreign Secretary should be wholly responsible for the persons that are admitted into the service; on anything in the shape of a body external to the Foreign Office on whom should be shifted the responsibility of selecting persons for the service, I look as one of the most dangerous things that could happen. I have stated why I think so, because I think that it would destroy that sense of confidence which now prevails. I have got some knowledge of examinations; I was for two years in the educational



department of the Council Office, and I have been at Oxford, and I have occupied myself with the question of examinations; and I have no hesitation whatever in saying that I look upon competition as the very worst form of training possible for the purpose that you require. I can describe it best by saying that every fault that is found with two-year-old races may be applied to competitive examinations. You bring out certain qualities prematurely; you develop in an excessive way certain peculiarities, and you totally miss the whole object of the kind of education that you require for a service like the diplomatic, which is the power of assimilation. Therefore I am totally and entirely against competitive examinations.

4355. I should conceive that however good might be the men turned out by such a system, it would be a fatal blow to that international confidence which I look upon as the *sine quâ non* of international intercourse. I wish particularly to make an observation which I have not seen made anywhere, which is that we have got something very much higher to consider than our national responsibility in this matter. The diplomatic service of the Foreign Office has confided to it the secrets of other nations; we are responsible not for our secrets only, but for the secrets of other people; and therefore it is of the greatest importance that whatever experiments we may make with regard to services wholly within our own control, they should not rashly be extended to relations which involve our good faith with other nations; because you must remember that a great many secrets are confided to us which do not immediately concern us, but which are confided to us in virtue of this complete confidence which exists at present, and which to a very great extent is based upon the prestige which the idea of an English gentleman carries with it, and we cannot jeopardise that confidence by letting other nations know that nobody is responsible for the persons to whom these secrets are confided. For this will really be the result of appointments made by competitive examinations. The Secretary of State is not responsible, because the successful candidates are forced upon him by the Civil Service examiners; the Civil Service examiners are not responsible for the individual as a whole, but only for a certain amount of brain work. Thus nobody is responsible.

4356. *Mr. A. Russell.*] The diplomatic service has been described as too exclusively composed of members of titled families; do you think that that is the case?—I think that if anybody took the trouble of looking at the Red Book, and of inquiring about who the persons are, he would find that the diplomatic service was exceedingly fairly made up. You might call it a geological section of English society.

4357. Do you see your way to the possibility of any reduction in the expenditure of the diplomatic service, without detriment to the public service?—We must remember that England has an international position which no other country in the world has. We are the only country in the world that can be really said to have a cosmopolitan position. We are not only a great European power, but a first-rate American power; a first-rate Asiatic power; a first-rate African power; and a wholly Australasian power. If, therefore, we do not spend upon our international machinery more than a first-rate European power does, it seems to me a very small sum.

4359. You think that England ought to be represented by agents of the same rank as other powers?—Yes.

4360. And that it would not be wise to lower the position of our representatives if other countries do not do the same?—Most decidedly it would not. There is no use denying that people are very much influenced by these external forms; and, as I said, social status and position are more necessary to an English agent than to any other, because they afford him the only

means of acknowledging a great number of international courtesies which he is perpetually receiving, and of requiting the trouble of a great many persons, both official and non-official, to whose services the present system of reports forces him to have recourse.

4362. Mr. West, in his report from Paris, says that there is great exaggeration in the idea that it is necessary for a diplomatic agent to mix in society, and that it leads to increase in expenditure?—There is no doubt that it leads to increase in expenditure, but I cannot conceive how a man can be getting up the knowledge which Her Majesty's Government expects him to have unless he does mix in society.

4363. You think that it would be difficult for him to receive the hospitalities of others if he never returned them?—Yes, absolutely impossible. Those hospitalities are made to him in virtue of his being the agent of the British Crown, and if he does not return them it is the British Crown that stands in the invidious position of not returning the civilities offered to it.

4366. *Mr. W. Cartwright.*] Would you say that there is any difference in the attainments of the present generation in the diplomatic service as compared with those of the men who entered the service before there was any examination, I mean any improvement in their efficiency?—As far as I can make out there is a decided improvement in the actual diplomatic agents. The men in the junior grades especially are, I should think, a superior body on the whole to what I have been told they were formerly.

4368. That we have got a body of men who are in the least acquainted with international law, I am sorry to say, I do not believe.

4371. In the course of this Committee it has been repeatedly urged that the introduction and the great extension of the telegraphic communication has altogether modified the position of the diplomatic servants abroad, and has tended to relieve them from a great deal of responsibility, and altogether to modify their relations; is that your view?—My own impression is the exact reverse. I believe that the introduction of telegraphy has necessitated a very far superior kind of intellectual training to what existed before the introduction of the telegraph. Only one side of the question seems to have been considered with regard to this—namely, the power which the Foreign Secretary has of telegraphing his orders to the diplomatic agent. What seems to have been entirely forgotten is that before the Foreign Secretary can convey his orders to the diplomatic agent he must have the telegraphic report of the diplomatic agent upon which to base his orders. Now anybody who has thought upon the subject knows that of all the responsible and of all the difficult things to do, to convey a completely new political situation, such as can be the result of a day's conference, in a telegram of some seventy or eighty words, and to convey it in such a form that not only the Foreign Minister, but perhaps a Cabinet Council, may be able to decide upon it, is an intellectual *tour de force* which requires an exceedingly superior kind of agent.

4372. Is not the mechanical labour of diplomatists increased by the use of ciphers necessarily consequent on the habitual use of telegraphing?—Yes.

4373. So that both the intellectual strain and the mere mechanical labour are increased?—Yes.

4375. I suppose that you do not agree with those who think that in consequence of the great improvement of the press, a great deal of the work that used to be done by confidential agents of the Foreign Office now need not be done any more by confidential agents, and that the press itself in a great degree is a substitute for the work of the Foreign Office?—No, I cannot agree with that view the least in the world.

4376. Still the view does prevail that the press is, to a great extent, a substitute for the work of the Foreign Office?—My view is very much the reverse—viz., that if we did not require the diplomatic service for anything else, we should require it for the purpose of controlling the information given by the press.

4377. You mean that you think very often the press is incorrectly informed?—It is not merely that the press is incorrectly informed, but, speaking not in the least of the English press, but of the foreign press from which the English press must to a great extent take its knowledge, it is a well-known thing that every foreign government has relations more or less subterranean with certain organs of the press, and that there is a perpetual manufacture of information which is certainly not necessarily correct, but which is intended for a certain momentary purpose. Now, one of the most important functions which a diplomatic agent has to perform is to give to his Government exact knowledge of what is good information and what is bad information.

4386. You cannot make any practical suggestions with a view to economy?—No; I think I could make the service better by having more money, but I really do not see that I could make it better by spending less money.

4389. In point of fact, you are of opinion that the service is anything but exorbitantly remunerative?—The service is most certainly underpaid; there is not the slightest doubt in the world about that.

4394. It has been observed several times that some danger might exist of making such juniors as became consuls, invested with a certain political character, prone to what is called needless intermeddling; do you think there is much danger of that?—No, I think it is just the reverse. The danger of meddling arises when you put a man utterly unused to political work into a post where he has a certain amount of political work to do. Such a man suddenly finding himself in a place like Bucharest or Belgrade, where there is a good deal of important political work, is in danger of exaggerating the nature of his political functions, whereas a man who has been secretary of embassy, and who knows the comparative importance of work at Bucharest, and at Paris or Vienna, is not likely to make that mistake.

4402. *Mr. Eastwick.*] With regard to the examinations, do not you think it is most desirable to have the very best talent of the country in the diplomatic service?—Certainly.

4480. *Mr. Rylands.*] I suppose that it is felt in the service now that if a man makes himself competent in relation to questions affecting the material interests of the British Empire, it will be very much to his credit with the authorities at home?—Very much to his credit, but not to his advancement, owing to the seniority system.

4481. If your view were carried out, you would make it a matter that would tell on his advancement?—To the very greatest possible extent.

4486. You do not think then that, in reference to diplomacy, it is not a desirable thing that a man should have a smattering of all the countries on the face of the earth, and no full knowledge of any particular country?—I think it is impossible to lay down an absolute rule of that kind. For many reasons it is desirable that a man should know many countries; and at the same time, it is desirable that there should be in the profession a certain number of men who are thoroughly acquainted with the different countries.

4489. With regard to promotion arising from the superiority of a man's character and services, you think that the fact that there was promotion by merit would do a great deal to remove the feeling of hopelessness

that you speak of as prevailing in the profession?—It would entirely remove it, I think.

4490. It would have this effect, I presume, in your judgment, that if a man were an inefficient man, and saw that he had no chance of getting on, he would become hopeless, and very likely might go out of the profession?—Which would be very desirable.

4492. I think with regard to the men who have entered since 1861, that they have a very fair right to look forward to the operation of the system of seniority up to the grade of first secretary of legation.

4493. As regards the momentary causes of the block, some means should be found of retaining the good men, and getting rid of the bad men.

4494. *Chairman.*] That is the problem to solve?—That is the problem to solve; because, in the present state of the labour market, a man who has attained a status in the diplomatic profession, who is known to have been a trusted agent of the Government, who has a thorough acquaintance with foreign languages, who has mastered all the details of finance and of the productive resources of European countries, is a man who can any day command a very large price if he chooses to go out of the service, and serve in one of those numerous international undertakings which are becoming every day more developed. Therefore a man of that sort can get his price; and I know at the present moment (of course I cannot mention names) several persons, very excellent public servants, who are only waiting to see whether there is a prospect of this block being got rid of, before they decide on leaving diplomacy, and going into private enterprises of that kind.

4495. Those are the people that you wish to retain?—Those are the people I wish to retain; for if those people go out you retain second-rate people, who, having no chance in any other profession, are only too glad to go on, however slowly, by seniority. I can mention the case of Mr. Herbert, who was assassinated at Athens, and I think everybody who read his letters will have formed some sort of idea of how valuable a life his was. I considered him one of the very best men in the service. The last conversation that I had with him was on this very subject, and that is why I mention him. He described the perfect hopelessness of going on with the profession, and told me that it was his intention to leave it. The following is the proposal which I thought of: a high test examination, principally in subjects chosen by the candidates and connected with the countries in which the individuals had been employed, to which all unpaid attachés and second and third secretaries might voluntarily offer themselves within the next two years; those who passed that examination should be placed at the head of the list of second secretaries, and receive an additional gratuity; those who did not pass it, or did not present themselves, would then have the option of remaining where they were or leaving the service with a fair compensation; that is, of course, upon the assumption that some such general plan as that which I have proposed for the re-organisation of the service, of a high test examination instead of a low entrance examination, should be adopted.

4496. That is to say, a test examination in substitution for an entrance examination?—I propose three classes of diplomatic servants, a first, and second, and third class; I wish to have a third class, consisting of unpaid attachés, who would have the right to present themselves for this very high test examination; I think this plan might be, in a modified form, applied at present, viz., to give these men the option of passing such an examination, and thus to place them at the head of the list of second secretaries.

4502. And that those who either did not pass, or did not choose to enter their names for this stiff examination, would be left in a position no doubt of disadvantage, but from which they would have, if they chose, the chance of relieving themselves by retiring from the service on some commutation?—I think with a considerable compensation, because it is the House of Commons that has produced the seniority system, and I think the House of Commons ought to pay those who have entered it in the faith of this recommendation of theirs.

4507. But surely it would be rather unjust, considering that the diplomatic service is now a profession, and that gentlemen who entered it under certain conditions, found themselves all of a sudden called upon to pass a third examination?—The injustice already exists because the State has entered into a contract which it cannot fulfil. I wish to restrict the injustice to the inefficient men, and to diminish this injustice as regards these men by a large compensation. Of course the examination I propose would be entirely voluntary.

4510. The difficulty is that you have got this block, and if the blocks last I can positively predict that the good men will leave, and that the bad men will be left in; that is a thing of which you may be perfectly certain.

4511. *Mr. W. Cartwright.*] Your plan would be an incentive, and a means to push the good men on at once?—Yes.

4512. And to get rid of the inferior men at a fair compensation?—Yes.

4513. *Mr. Rylands.*] And you would propose after this arrangement, which you recommend merely as one of an extremely exceptional character, that it should be understood that all promotion should be by merit, and that this system of seniority should be entirely done away with?—Yes.

4582. *Mr. W. Lowther.*] There are more claims upon you, with your 700*l.* a year at Darmstadt, than there are upon a secretary of embassy with 1,000*l.* a year?—Certainly; because however humbly or modestly one does it, there are certain representative functions which are perfectly unavoidable. And then there is another point, that is, that assistance has to be given to English subjects.

4583. Pecuniary assistance?—Yes.

4585. I think you said that a thorough absolute and complete knowledge of diplomacy was necessary for a minister at a foreign court; do you consider that the public service suffers by the employment of outsiders?—Well, if you can get the right man for that work, I think you must take him wherever you can find him, and I should be very sorry to see any system adopted that excluded the possibility of taking in outsiders. I should be sorry to see the service one altogether professional, or one altogether consisting of outsiders, with people assisting them who had been abroad; but I think you cannot exclude the question of outsiders.

#### MR. HENRY LABOUCHERE.

4619. *Mr. Rylands.*] With reference, in the first place, to the entrance into the service, are you prepared to express any opinion as to whether it would be desirable that there should be a system of competition in connection with the appointments to the diplomatic service?

4621. It appears to me that there is no real reason why there should not be a competitive examination.

4630. Your judgment is, that if a fair measure of work, regular work, were obtained from the juniors a smaller number of them might do the work which is required?—You might take it that perhaps there would be on the average three despatches written every day at St. Petersburg,

some of perhaps eight pages; that there would be three or four times a communication to the Russian Government, and every week perhaps three despatches written to some consuls in Russia; and I think that the ambassador writing the drafts, with a secretary of embassy and two second secretaries to copy them, could very well do that work.

4639. You do not consider that there is anything that should be considered degrading or improper on the part of a secretary of legation who did take his share in the work?—No, because a great many of them do it from choice. For instance, when I was at Constantinople, Mr. Erskine used to come and work in the chancellerie.

4642. And the effect of that would be to lessen the stress on the staff?—Evidently you would require a smaller staff.

4659. Do you think that anything is gained by hospitality on the part of the ambassador?—Very little, I should think. As he is living there he must entertain to a certain reasonable extent; he has colleagues who ask him to dinner, and he would naturally ask them back; there are a certain number of persons who are in the habit of entertaining him in the town, and he would ask them back; this is necessary, just as a person in London who is in the habit of going out to dinner and is supposed to be well off, is expected to return civilities.

4660. *Mr. Otway.*] Do you really think that the expenditure of an entertainment at Paris would be fairly represented by your description of a few candles and a few ices?—Do you mean a simple reception?

4661. An evening entertainment?—Certainly I do.

4662. You consider that a fair description of the expenditure that is put on the ambassador by an evening entertainment at Paris?—I should say that the fair description would be candles, ices, tea and coffee.

4663. *Mr. Rylands.*] In the case of Washington, where you were placed, the state of society is a good deal different from that of Paris, and I should like to have your judgment on the entertainment of the British minister there, as to how far it is desirable?—There I think a good deal is gained by it.

4664. With reference to the general work of the mission at Washington, from your experience there, have you formed any idea as to the amount of work that they do?—When I was there you had to have a large staff, because the mails only came in once a week, and everything had to be done between the time that the boat came in and the time that the boat went out, about 24 or 36 hours, consequently we very often had to work all night.

4666. In reference to Washington, I gather that you think that, considering what is done by the British representative there, the salary is not too large and the staff not too large?—The salary is not too large. I happened to be at Washington last October, and the cost of living is certainly double what it is in England.

4667. In reference to the staff, what do you say?—There was not too large a staff when I was there; I do not know what it is now.

4668. Now the staff consists, in addition to the minister, of a secretary of legation, two second secretaries, two third secretaries, and a naval attaché?—Probably they could do with one less.

4670. With reference to the other embassies, you have been connected with the staff at Constantinople comparatively lately; I should like to have your opinion, from your knowledge of the work there, whether the staff could have been reduced?—When I was at Constantinople I never arrived at the bottom of that staff; I never could find out how many there were, there were so many; there were dragomans, and chiefs of the chancellerie, and private secretaries, and persons who seemed to be a species of connect-

ing links between the consulates and the embassy ; but it was difficult to find out how many there really were.

4671. *Mr. Otway.*] Have you any experience at all as to Constantinople ? were you there any time ?—I was there about eight months.

4679. Your information and mine are inaccurate, I think, as to the point of time : as far as I am informed, you could not have been at Constantinople more than two months.—Well, eight months is too long. I was a certain length of time at Constantinople before they went down to Therapia, and I stopped on, if I remember right, till August at Therapia.

4680. Would you like to correct your statement that you were there eight months ?—Yes, I correct that statement.

4708. *Mr. Rylands.*] Practically there was little or nothing at Munich for the minister to do ?—Little or nothing.

4710. What had you to do at Munich as attaché ?—I was the only person there for most of the time besides the minister. I had to sit in for about an hour every morning, in order to visé passports, because all the passports of English travellers going towards Austria had to be viséd. At present passports are not viséd, and so I presume there is absolutely nothing to do.

4712. But, at the same time, I presume there was a secretary of legation and a second secretary ?—There was a secretary of legation, but he was away on leave. I think the second secretary, who was then called a paid attaché, was away on leave. There was myself and another gentleman, Mr. Lonsdale, who was there, an invalid.

4714. *Viscount Barrington.*] How long were you there ?—I was on leave some time ; I suppose I was there eight months.

4721. You were also at Stockholm ?—Yes.

4722. I suppose there there was very much the same sort of thing as at Munich ?—Yes, it was very much the same sort of thing.

4726. *Mr. Rylands.*] I presume that in none of these replies do you impute any neglect of duty ?—Not at all ; all I want to do is to point out that there is nothing to do ; the ministers do most conscientiously anything they are called upon to do.

4728. Then the other mission at which you were placed was at Dresden ?—Yes.

4729. I should like to ask whether anything was done in that mission by you ?—No, there was no business done. There are a great many English residents at Dresden, and there was a great deal of notarial work done in the legation.

4730. *Viscount Barrington.*] How long were you there ?—I suppose about eight months ; I put down eight months round for all these places.

4731. *Mr. Rylands.*] You say notarial work ; I suppose that is the sort of work that would be done by a consul or vice-consul ?—Yes.

4732. There was no consul at Dresden while you were there ?—No.

4743. Then it is your opinion that in regard to the Principalities and Duchies, it would be sufficient to have a consul-general at some central point and vice-consuls ?—In point of fact, at all these places, with the exception of Madrid and Florence, and one or two places where there are really great and important interests, all you want is a chargé d'affaires and consul-general, the species of diplomatic agent that is employed in the South American Republics ; their staff generally consists of one vice-consul.

4746. Do you see any reason why the diplomatic and consular services should not be amalgamated ?—I think that it would be a great advantage to amalgamate them.

4748. The following plan will, if carried out, put an end to much waste

of public money, and increase the efficiency of the diplomatic and consular services. The diplomatic, the consular, and the Foreign Office services shall henceforward be amalgamated. The staff of the amalgamated services shall consist of three classes of officials. Class 1 shall consist of secretaries of embassy and of legation, of consuls holding first-class consulates, and of senior and assistant Foreign Office clerks; class 2, of second secretaries in the diplomatic service, consuls holding second-class consulates, and junior first and second class Foreign Office clerks; class 3, of vice-consuls, third secretaries in the diplomatic service and attachés, and third-class clerks in the Foreign Office. All those whose services are not required will be allowed to retire upon the terms which, under similar circumstances, were offered to clerks in the War Office. Of course if you do away with the different great prizes in the diplomatic service, you have to give a fair remuneration to the public servants, and I think that is a fair remuneration with the additional 10*l.* a year.

4757. Why, do you suppose, are special missions sent when we have ambassadors and ministers abroad that might convey the honour?—I presume that it is because there are a number of noblemen and others who belong either to one party or to the other party who occasionally want a sop, and they are sent off with these things. There is not the slightest result from sending them, except the waste of money and the advantage to themselves of taking a little journey abroad, and taking their cousins with them, being given an order or decoration themselves, perhaps.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY EARLE LYTTON BULWER, G.C.B.

4828. *Chairman.*] Do you consider it an accurate representation to say that the ambassador at Constantinople can live comfortably upon 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* a year?—I should say not from my own experience. I can only say that my ordinary house expenses were never less than 450*l.* to 500*l.* a month, without including extras and many things not entering into monthly expenses.

4829. Then your experience is not in conformity with such a statement as that?—Of course there are ways of living. At Constantinople you are put in a very large palace, and it requires a great effort to live in such a palace within the salary, and I do not think I ever did.

4830. I think you were a minister at Madrid for a considerable period?—Yes.

4831. With reference to the salary of the minister there, should you say that it was more than adequate to meet the necessary demands upon the head of the mission?—I think that if a man had nothing to do but to look after his expenses, he might live cheaper than he does, but considering how much his occupations engross his time and mind, I don't think he can live for less, even without going to any very extraordinary display, but I must say that much depends upon management.

4833. What is your opinion generally with regard to the remuneration of the diplomatic service; should you say that it was more than adequate, or on the whole fairly adequate, or inadequate?—Of course this depends very much on the position you intend a minister or ambassador to keep up. With my own views as to the manner in which a minister or ambassador should live, I should say they are not overpaid.

4835. You have heard in this Committee a great deal said of the block at present in promotion; you are aware, no doubt, generally, that there is such a stoppage in the rise in the profession?—I think there has been a great deal of exaggeration about that, because I remember that in my time, even taking those who were most fortunate, and who went through the grades of the profession, they rose very slowly.



4841. You think that the old system was a preferable one?—I do, much.

4847. Would you recommend that the practice should be reversed then, and that we should aim at going back more to the old system?—I certainly should; if you wish to have economy combined with work, I should certainly say that having unpaid attachés was a very good plan; and it was a very good plan for another reason, namely, that you saw whether these gentlemen would wish to remain in the profession, and also it was seen whether they were fit for it; whereas now a man very often goes into it, and when he has spent a certain time about it he finds that it does not suit him at all; and it is sometimes found that he does not suit it at all.

4848. Then do I rightly understand that you would suggest removing the entrance examination altogether?—No; I would have an entrance examination, but I would not have a very severe one.

4850. I rather gather from you that you would not be in favour of introducing a system of competition for entering into the service?—I think that there is a great deal to be said on both sides; but I think that there is a great deal to be said, which has not been said, against competition altogether. In all the countries I have visited I have found the thing most detrimental to society and to the public service was a passion amongst the public generally for Government places, and I am afraid that we are introducing into the public here, judging from the letters I have seen as a Member of Parliament, a general desire amongst all classes to get their sons into public offices; once in the inferior grades of the different departments, their advance is very much limited, and whatever talent and spirit they had originally, which they might have carried into other ranks of life, is absorbed and often nullified in mere official routine. Moreover I think, we shall end in this manner, by making the public service more expensive, because the public will be more interested in having a great number of places, and having the persons who are in them well paid. Thus I am not very favourable to competition for Government places in general; in other departments, and in diplomacy particularly, I do not think it would answer, because you cannot test by competitive examination the fitness of a man for diplomacy.

4853. Should you say that the men who distinguished themselves most at the university were men markedly superior in respect to those characteristics to which you have referred as needed in the diplomatic service?—There is the old saying of Dr. Johnson's, "What becomes of all the clever boys?" I can only say for myself, that I was at Harrow five years, which is not a university, but is something like one, and there is not one of the very clever boys I remember there who has ever done anything in public life, or in life at all, I should say. I do not think that remarkably clever boys often prove superior men in public life.

4858. Then you would make the door, as I understand, to let in such men a pretty wide one?—Certainly; I can never agree in diplomacy being an exclusive profession, because I could find many men in a drawing-room in London who were perhaps more fit than any one that I could find in the profession for great posts, at particular moments; but I think it is fair that people who have served for a long time in a profession should be employed in the higher grades if they are fit for them. I wish, however, to point out one thing which it is necessary to remember relative to that; you must consider that the foreign minister in every country is certainly one of the first men in that country; therefore the men who have to deal with him should be more or less men of equal capacity and calibre; well, I say that of ten men who go into diplomacy, there certainly is not above one who is fit to be intellectually upon par with the best men in the country (I am speaking of the great countries of Europe) to which he is sent.

4859. You mean when he has risen to a certain position in the service?  
—Yes, that is my argument against seniority.

4860. I understand you then to disapprove of its being an exclusive profession, and of the terms of promotion being wholly by seniority?  
—Yes.

4881. Can you enumerate to us what you think would be a competent staff for the larger missions?—I think a secretary of embassy, a paid attaché, and an archivist; allowing the ambassador a private secretary if he wanted one, and unpaid attachés if required. A second secretary might be allowed at Paris, with the permission of the foreign minister.

4883. You are in favour of the suggestion made to us of having some sort of interchange between the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service?—Yes, I do not know whether I would have a constant interchange, because men get more fit for the employments to which they are most used, and I have no doubt that the clerks in the Foreign Office are better fitted for the Foreign Office, from having been so much in it; and the same, perhaps, applies to the members of the corps diplomatique; but I think that there are occasions when it would be very desirable to have some men from the Foreign Office sent out to foreign missions, and even when gentlemen employed at foreign missions should work for a time in the Foreign Office.

4884. As far as rising from one step to the other goes, the reports of gentlemen when they are secretaries of legation, and examinations, if you have them, all more or less, are something to go by; but then I think there should be added to them something else, which is the opinion given, upon his honour, by the head of the mission or missions where these gentlemen have been.

4886. We have had a suggestion made that it would be very advisable to have a very high leaping-bar, as it were, put up for all the gentlemen who want to get to the higher grades to get over before they can get promotion; would that be desirable in your view?—I do not think so, because if you have passed the best examination you could pass, it would not be a proof that you were a good man for an important situation as a diplomatist.

4887. *Viscount Barrington.*] You would leave that part of it to the responsibility of the foreign minister?—I am very much for leaving as much responsibility as possible to the ambassador, in his particular situation, and as much responsibility as possible to the minister, as the administrator of his department.

4888. *Chairman.*] But what would you do with respect to these gentlemen who are more or less failures, though probably each man himself thinks that he is entitled to get on in the profession?—The Minister for Foreign Affairs undertakes the task, and must undertake the responsibility, of being Minister for Foreign Affairs, and he will generally be backed by the profession. But I think there should be a tendency to allow people to rise up to a certain rank by seniority, if they do not do anything amiss, and then if they remain in that rank and are not promoted further, I think after a period of eight or nine years, or something of that kind, they might have their option of retiring on a suitable pension or going on.

4889. Then I rather collect that you have a strong opinion against a mere seniority profession?—I think it is the ruin of any profession, and particularly the diplomatic.

4896. *Chairman.*] What do you say to the transference of the junior members of the diplomatic profession from one mission to another, by way of enlarging their experience?

4897. Of course everything may be carried to an extreme; but it is an

immense advantage both to the ambassador and to the service to have people who are well acquainted with the country they reside in.

4898. Are not some diplomatic positions considered more eligible in locality than others for those in the profession, and would it not create jealousy if some favoured gentlemen were in some favoured spots and the rest were banished to a remote corner of the world?—You cannot get anything satisfactory to everybody, and I am not for trying to do so; I look to the service and not to the individual.

4901. We have had a good deal suggested to us with respect to the relative position of the consular and diplomatic services, and we have had the suggestion made that it would be advisable for the good of the service generally that there should be something more of amalgamation between the two; what is your opinion on that point?—I cannot say that I agree in that; I think that it would end in the first place in this, either that the consuls would be absorbed by the attachés and diplomacy, which is most likely, as they are the strongest body, or the consuls would get into diplomatic posts, for which their education and training as consuls do not fit them. I think that the knowledge that you want in a consul is local knowledge. I am quite against that suggestion.

4905. With reference to the consuls general, they are more in the capacity of diplomatic servants?—Yes, nevertheless I think that they should belong to the consular service.

4906. *Viscount Barrington.*] Then I understand that you would admit consuls general into the diplomatic service, but not consuls?—I would not refuse consuls if they were thought fit for it; but it is in places, like those of the consuls generals being promoted there as consuls, that consular officers can show diplomatic capacity. This permits men of the one service to enter the other, but I should not amalgamate the two services and make the one constantly running into the other.

4907. *Chairman.*] We have rather had the thing put in the other direction, that it would be a good thing for the public service to shunt diplomatists who did not get on well in the diplomatic profession into consulates; what is your view on that?—Young diplomatists would make bad consuls, and worse if they were merely consuls for a time to come back as diplomatists.

4913. I need not ask you whether the American representatives in Europe play the same important part in the public affairs of Europe that the English representatives do generally?—In Europe, in general, the American diplomatist comes into the field with a great advantage that we have not. He says if you do not do so-and-so I know what will happen, and he can threaten and he will be generally supported by his country in threatening, whereas the English diplomatist knows that if he threatens he will be disapproved. Holding stronger language, the American diplomatists are sometimes more attended to than ours, therefore they have that advantage; but as individuals, not being so well acquainted with Europe, nor so well trained for diplomacy, they are generally inferior as diplomatists to ours.

4930. I gather generally from your answers that you have a decided opinion that the Secretary of State should be vested with the very highest degree of discretion, and full power in the selection of his instruments; that is the keystone of your system?—Yes, and I think that he should consult to a great degree with the ambassador, who should also have the responsibility thrown upon him.

4937. I think you said that you considered that a great embassy was the true high school for diplomacy?—That and the Foreign Office.

4938. Do you think that any advantage would be derived if the heads

of departments in the Foreign Office were, for a year or two, employed in these great embassies, so as to acquire greater insight into the peculiar matters that come under their consideration in the Foreign Office?—I think it would be, if it could be managed without detriment to the service of the Foreign Office.

4942. In the French service there is a very close amalgamation between the consular and the diplomatic services, is there not?—Not very close; but the French consuls are more political and less commercial than ours.

4943. You think that detrimental?—I do; upon the whole, I think our own consuls, as consuls for our work, much better than the French.

4944. I think that you laid stress upon public law being included in our examination?—In the second examination.

4945. I suppose you meant thereby to imply that it is not sufficiently developed in our present examination?—From what I understand it is not.

4946. And it is of very great importance in diplomacy?—Certainly; it accustoms men to consider what is right; it habituates their minds to consider what is equitable, and then you can judge nearly all questions by that test.

5122. *Mr. Eastwick.*] I think also you are in favour of giving still greater power of choice to the Secretary of State, with a view to his filling up the higher appointments in the service, not according to seniority, but according to his view of what is best for the public service?—He has that power, but I am in favour of his exercising it; and I think that the abnegation of that exercise by merely naming people in rotation necessarily entails that out of every four that you name to a post of any mark you name three who are inefficient.

5123. I think that any persons who had not obtained promotion, or were not satisfied with the situation which they held, after a certain number of years in a subordinate post, ought to have an opportunity of retiring upon a very fair and adequate allowance. I said before, I think, and that perhaps best explains my idea, that to be really minister of England, at a post of any importance, is a situation which requires a man of very considerable ability; he is matched there with the first men in the country to which he goes; I do not think that every man who goes into diplomacy is a man of considerable ability, and therefore I think it very advantageous that before he gets to that post which requires considerable ability there should be some way of letting that gentleman escape fairly and honourably, but still escape from a situation which he is not competent to fill.

5127. I think that it is more advantageous for the country to pay a certain sum and to get rid of a man, than to pay a great deal more, and to have him in a post where he may do you a great deal of mischief. It is a choice between difficulties; but when I say a certain sum, of course I only say that loosely and indefinitely; it would be for the Minister of Foreign Affairs consulting with the House of Commons, and the general feeling of the service, to determine what it should be; I merely lay down the principle.

5129. There has been a new regulation established, which I think, as a regulation, is exceedingly bad—viz., that gentlemen should be moved after a very short period of time.

5137. With regard to the Persian transfer, when you were Ambassador at Constantinople, were there many matters connected with Persia referred to you?—Yes, several; one or two which I settled when war was impending.

5138. Questions of frontier, I think?—Yes; in fact, in one case, I think the Persians had advanced over the line of frontier claimed by the Turks. I certainly felt it easier to settle those questions, knowing that the

Persian question would be referred to the minister under whose department I was. I should not have been so perfectly at home if I had thought that it depended upon the Indian Board. My idea in regard to the Persian Mission is, that it is better to leave it under the Foreign Office, but that the Foreign Office ought to consult the India Office, and that great deference should be paid to their recommendation as to the class of persons best fitted to be employed there.

5146. You strongly recommend recurrence to the old practice of the ambassador having a private secretary?—Yes, I am satisfied that where there was much to do that would be the best way of getting it done.

5162. But would you not adopt some means by which the incompetency of persons in the diplomatic service should be found out and tested before they arrived at the position of secretary of legation?—I do not know that I would, because my experience tells me that you never know what a man is until he is tried. Responsibility is the great test of capacity for action.

5165. You might be able to test certain qualities, but there is the quality of action, which you never can test till the man is in action. There is prompt decision, seeing clearly what you want to do, and a variety of things of that kind, which you really cannot test till you see a man in a responsible situation.

5166. I could detect incompetency, but I could not be certain as to full competency until it was tried.

5174. The Foreign Office acts on the principle that in Downing-street they are able to deal with all questions absolutely, and instruct our representatives abroad, almost to the minute method of dealing with everything that arises?—If a man passes all his life at the desk, he forms an over-estimate of what can be done by merely writing a despatch, and an under-estimate of what can be done when the despatch gets to the place which it is destined for. He, of course, thinks that everything depends upon the despatch. My experience tells me that nearly everything depends upon the man to whose hands that despatch goes.

5179. *Mr. Rylands* ]. I think I understood that, at all events, in your opinion, if the head of the mission had perfect control, and if the subordinates depended upon his judgment in reference to their future career, the probability is that there would not be such difficulties?—I would not even go so far as that, because the head of the mission is liable to be mistaken as well as anybody else; therefore I would say that it should not altogether depend upon him, and it should not be altogether irrespective of him. A man should not be able to go to a mission and say, "All I have to do is to please the Foreign Office; it does not matter whether the chief is pleased or not."

5182. In your judgment it is very important that by some means or other we should have at the head of our missions abroad men of very distinguished ability and high public character?—I think that a man in a great position abroad, as representing a country like England, ought to be a man of mark, even independently of his particular position of ambassador; he should confer something upon the rank of ambassador whilst the rank of ambassador confers something on him.

5183. That would lead you to think it desirable that public men of position should be from time to time appointed to the principal embassies?—I certainly should not exclude them; at the same time I think that it would be very unfair if competent men could be found in the profession in which they had spent a great part of their lives, if they had not a fair consideration of their merits when any vacancy occurred; if they were competent, I think they should have the preference; if you take a

competent man who has lived abroad, and knows the languages and the mind, I may say, of the people on the Continent, I should say that that man, if his abilities were equal to it, would be a better man to carry on a negotiation abroad than a person even of rather higher ability who had merely led a political life in England.

5184. With regard to the influence of the Foreign Office upon our diplomatic representatives, do you think that there would be any improvement secured in that respect if the political Under Secretary took a higher position in relation to the management of the Foreign Office as the second to the Foreign Secretary?—It certainly appears to me that, inasmuch as the political Under Secretary of State is in the House of Commons or in the other House of Parliament, and therefore represents the Government in that position, he ought to have a higher place in the Foreign Office than the permanent Under Secretary; I do not know that I am qualified to give a very good opinion on that point, but that is my impression.

5186. Amongst the points which you were good enough to suggest for our examination there was a question as to the position of the heads of missions as ambassadors or *chargés d'affaires*. I presume that with regard to the great posts you would be of opinion that ambassadors should always be appointed to the great courts?—Yes.

5187. Then, with regard to the smaller courts, is it your judgment that it is necessary to have a minister in all the smaller courts of Europe, or do you think that it would be sufficient to have a *chargé d'affaires*, and to send a minister on special occasions: take, for instance, Sweden, Denmark, and others of the smaller courts in Europe?—I think that you must regulate your conduct a little by what other Governments do in that respect. If I saw any economy to be practised it would be more by uniting missions under one head, and having persons stationed at the different places which were incorporated, as it were, in that mission, and who would be considered as belonging to that mission.

5188. Let us take—I speak, however, rather loosely, because I do not feel confident that my opinion is a sound one on that matter—two countries like Holland and Belgium. It certainly is our policy, and the policy of those two countries, that they should be firmly united together, and that they should be able, in case of any European struggle, to act together. I do not know whether, if you had an eminent man representing us at these two courts, going alternately to one and the other, with an able secretary at one of them, your object and the interests of those two countries would not be better carried out than by having two ministers who did not much correspond with each other, and might take a different tone, and have a different mind, the one from the other.

5198. With regard to Constantinople, we have had the subject of the expenditure there before us; I suppose you agree that we can do with a less staff at Constantinople than the staff which at present exists there?—I have always thought one of the gentlemen employed there is perfectly useless.

5199. Is that the Oriental Secretary?—Yes.

5200. With reference to the dragomans, is it not the fact that the communications between the embassy and the Porte, through the dragomans, were formerly of a much more confidential character than is now the case?—Your head dragoman must be in your confidence; I think that Sir Henry Elliot spoke very well about that, and very truly, when he said that he knows so much of what you are doing, that it is much better not to disguise from him anything.

5201. You would not say that as to any but the head dragoman?—Only as to the head dragoman.

5202. There are, I believe, three dragomans ; would you think it necessary to keep up that staff?—I cannot say, because nearly all the dragomans are employed on private business, business of claims, and things of that kind ; the only one employed about public diplomatic business would be the head dragoman ; what I think would be very beneficial, in fact, I recommended it strongly at the time, would be to have the consular and the dragomanic services intermingled ; it very often happens that you wish to get rid of a dragoman ; he might do very well with one minister at the Porte, but does ill with his successor ; in fact, you are not perfectly satisfied with him, but there are not sufficient grounds to send him away, and to deprive him of his employment ; it would be a great advantage in that case if you were able to name him to some consulate, and then you might make some consul your dragoman.

5215. You are strongly of opinion that the house at Constantinople must be rebuilt?—I think there must be a house for the embassy.

MR. CHARLES HENEAGE.

4947. *Mr. Otway.*] You are a secretary of legation at Munich, are you not?—I am third secretary at Munich.

4948. Did you hear Mr. Labouchere's evidence with regard to the work of the legation at Munich?—I did.

4949. Is that, in your opinion, in any way a correct representation of the work that is done at the legation there?—It is not a correct representation of the work at present at Munich.

4950. Would you give a short description of the work of a secretary of legation at Munich, taking your own case last year?—I arrived there last year ; shortly after my arrival the other two secretaries went on leave, and I was there alone with the minister. I was on duty every day according to our regulations shortly before 11 to 2 ; I was busy almost the whole time with people coming in and different things and so on ; and all my leisure time at home was occupied with translations of different things ; I had no leisure time at all for nearly two months and a half.

4951. How many reports were you engaged on at the same time?—The first secretary was away ; I was busy with a report on military education in Bavaria, which has since been published by the War Office. I had the translations to make of all the theological papers of Dr. Döllinger about the Œcumenical Council ; we sent the original home with the translations ; those translations are very difficult and require great care. I made also a translation of a very elaborate report by Dr. Mayer, a very important matter, and other private things.

4952. Could you give any account of the number of despatches written at Munich?—I think that Sir Henry Howard gives full details of everything that goes on at Munich ; I think that there are something like 300 despatches a year. Those are principally political despatches ; we also have commercial ones.

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN LAIRD MAIR, BARON LAWRENCE, G.C.B.

4970. *Chairman.*] A great part of the value of our having any relation at all with Persia depends upon our Indian Empire?—I think so.

4971. Have you ever given your attention to the question whether it was expedient that it should remain under the Foreign Office, or that it should be under the direction of the Indian Secretary of State?—Yes ; I have thought over the matter.

4972. Have you come to any clear conclusion as to which you think is

the best course?—Yes; I think that, on the whole, it is best that it should be under the Secretary of State for India.

4974. Had you direct authority in any way over the Persian Mission in case of emergency?—No, none whatever; we could communicate, of course.

4975. Whatever you wished, or might have wished, to have done in Persia, with reference to Indian interests, would have to be communicated home, and then to be sent out from here to Persia?—Yes.

4976. Have you ever had occasion to think that the public service was at all damaged by a want of direct communication between the Governor General and the Persian Mission, either in point of despatch or in point of efficient discharge of any duty?—I cannot say that in my time it was so.

4978. Should you say that a man who had been accustomed to Eastern courts is a better man for the purpose of dealing with an Eastern despot and his Government than one who had been accustomed to the more civilised courts of the West?—I should say so.

4979. From his familiarity with the habits and language and modes of thought of Orientals generally?—Yes.

4980. Then I rather gather that if the Persian Mission was composed of gentlemen who had that familiarity from previous experience with Eastern habits and Eastern courts, instead of being composed of European diplomats, if one may use the phrase, your objection to having the Foreign Office in superintendence of the Persian Mission might to a certain extent be obviated?—To a certain extent.

4981. Matters of general policy, with reference to our mode of dealing upon great questions with the Persian court, of course, would be settled here by the Cabinet after communication between the two Secretaries of State?—Yes, of course, the policy would, but the mode in which that policy was carried out when settled would very much depend upon the individual man there, and whether that man had been trained so as to be able readily to acquire a knowledge of the character of the people of that country. But then I think that beyond that, though the policy would be settled at home, the Secretary of State in England would be very much guided in his policy by the views of the man who was in Persia, particularly if he was a very able man.

4982. You think that the eyes and ears of the minister in the Persian court would be more trained and skilled eyes and ears if he were an Indian officer than if he were an European diplomatist?—Yes, and those views would influence the Secretary of State; he would be free to judge from what was written to him or said to him, but he would be very much influenced by what he heard from the minister in Persia. If that man were a person who thoroughly understood Asiatics and Orientals he would be more likely to come to a true, safe, and sound conclusion than a man the main portion of whose life had been spent in European courts. It is quite one thing to deal with Europeans, and it is quite another thing to deal with Asiatics. Then I think there is another important point. I should say that if the minister in Persia is a gentleman whose chief time has been spent in Europe, his views of questions bearing upon our interests in India might be very different from the view of an officer of equal ability who had been for years in India, and who was conversant with our border politics on the frontiers of India, our relations with Afghanistan and Beloochistan, and our communications with Central Asia.

4983. On the other hand, it has been suggested to us, that an Indian-bred diplomatist would be more likely to look at our connection with Persia wholly from an Indian point of view, and that he would neglect



considerations in relation to the western part of the world ; that he would, in fact, prefer Indian politics to the politics of the world?—My answer to that would be, that when he came to deal with questions connected with Turkey, and that side of Persia, he would find that they had no affinity with questions connected with India and Central Asia ; he would therefore deal with the one on principles suited to Turkey and that side of Persia, principles separate and distinct from his mode of dealing with the other class of cases. Questions in which we are interested for the sake of Turkey, as connected with Persia, would not in any way be affected by our feelings or views as regards India.

4987. Had you ever occasion to doubt whether the Indian policy, and Indian interests and-views, were sufficiently regarded in the action of our representative in Persia ; or would you have thought that somebody with a greater knowledge of Eastern views and Eastern life would have been more equal to the occasion?—I should say that was the case ; I do not think that the minister of late years in Persia understood altogether what were really the interests of British India, as connected with his position in Persia ; and I do not think that he was able, from his position in Persia, to gather that knowledge of Central Asia and Central Asian affairs that he would have acquired had he been previously trained in India.

4988. I suppose, to a great extent, Persia and the Persian Court is a kind of centre of intrigue for all the various interests affecting the West and the East?—I could not speak of that much, having never myself been in Persia ; but whenever I looked at the question, I looked at it with reference to our tenure of India, and in that view I consider it most important that the British minister in Persia should possess a large knowledge of India and its circumstances.

4989. Have you a trained staff of skilled officers in India always available, men who have been bred in the functions of diplomacy?—There are a large number of officers of various ages and various periods of service in what is called in Europe the diplomatic line, but which we term the political service in India, these men generally serving at different native courts from their earlier years. Many of them have been 25 or 30 years in different diplomatic positions, so that they have had a complete training in diplomacy.

4990. Are these gentlemen shifted from one station to another, and are they promoted from one post to another?—Yes ; they are promoted in the department.

4991. You have an enormous field from which to select. Among them you could get men of known talents and known ability, and tried experience ; and I should say that, on the whole, you might select among them men of greater fitness for service in Persia than you would, in the nature of things, find among the men under the Foreign Office.

4995. I would say that the two persons, the minister in Persia and the Governor General in India, being under the one Secretary of State, there would be less liability of friction and more probability of unity of policy and purpose, and system, under the one state of things, than under the other.

4998. I think that things would have worked more smoothly and more satisfactorily on the whole for the public benefit if the Persian Mission had been under the Secretary of State for India. The real question is, I submit, which arrangement is likely to answer best in times of trouble and commotion.

5002. When I said that it was a different mode of dealing in the East, I did not allude to giving presents or withholding them ; some diplomatists think that it is of great importance to give and receive presents ; I confess that I do not attach very much value to that.

5004. *Mr. W. Cartwright.*] If I understood rightly, what you mainly pointed out in regard to Persia was, that it was a specific mission, requiring specific qualifications?—Yes.

5005. And that is the principal point, I think, of your observation?—Yes, and that those specific qualifications are with reference to India, and our interests in India.

5007. Therefore, if full discretion were given to the Secretary of State at the head of the Foreign Office to select any instruments that he might obtain in the service, there would not be so much objection to Persia remaining under the Foreign Office as at present?—I do not think that that would very much affect the question. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is in constant communication with the ministers in the different courts of Europe; well, if he wanted an able, good man for Persia, he would naturally look among the lists of those gentlemen, and select the best man that he could lay his hands upon for that particular post; he would not look to the Indian list of officers for such a man.

5013. There is one thing that I would like to say with regard to the selection of officers, because that seems to me the grand question between the advantages of having one Secretary of State and those of having the other Secretary of State to control the Persian Mission. I said that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would naturally look, in making his selection, to the officers in immediate connection with his department. Even if he wished to make a selection of an officer of mark and distinction, who had served in India, he would hardly know of an officer or be able to select one. As a general rule, with rare exceptions, he would not know anything about the men who had served in India, whereas the Secretary of State for India is daily and hourly reading despatches in which the best officers of India are mentioned, and therefore their merits and qualities are specially brought to his notice. A Secretary of State for India who had been for any time in that office could probably tell off on his fingers all the leading officers of distinction in India, whereas the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would know nothing about them.

5014. *Mr. R. Shaw.*] Am I right in assuming that the number of European questions arising at that mission is small in comparison with the number of Indian questions?—I have no absolute personal knowledge of the details of the Persian Mission, as I have never been in Persia.

5018. *Mr. Eastwick.*]—Do you think that the progress of Russia in Central Asia is likely to bring Persia more and more into the pale of European influence?—I can hardly form an opinion, and I should not like to venture to express one on that point.

5019. The progress of Russia in Central Asia must of course render the interests of India in Persia much graver and more important?—No doubt, if Russia advances.

5026. Your lordship would think it fair, I presume, that in the case of Persia being re-transferred to the India Office, the Indian revenue should bear the whole expenses?—I do not see why India should pay the whole expenses. As the mission in Persia is not entirely and solely for the interests of India, but as it is admitted that to a certain extent it is for European interests also, I think that England should pay a portion.

5027. You think that the present allotment of the expenses, which is something like three-fourths, namely, 12,000*l.* from India, would be a satisfactory arrangement to remain?—Yes; I think that if it is altered at all, England ought to pay a little more rather than pay a little less.

## THE HON. EDWARD ROBERT LYTTON.

5031. *Chairman.*] Are you aware of there being a considerable amount of dissatisfaction in your profession with the state of it, as regards promotion?—I think there is at this moment, undoubtedly, a feeling of great discouragement in the junior branches of the service.

5034. Do you think that there is anything in a suggestion which has been made to us, that some of the junior members, or gentlemen rather in a middle position in the profession, might be tempted to go for a consideration, so as to relieve the block in that way?—There can be no doubt that if those gentlemen were induced to go, there would be a great relief to the pressure which is at present stopping the way.

5035. It is represented to us as a sort of abandonment of hope amongst the lower grades of the profession, because they see the upper grades filled with very little chance of vacancies for their own promotion; do you think that a correct representation?—Yes; I fancy that that really is no exaggeration of the state of feeling; and I must honestly say that as long as you maintain the present system of promotion by seniority, I cannot see how it is to be obviated. I think that a hard-and-fast system of seniority promotion is very discouraging.

5036. You would prefer to see a selection made by the Secretary of State on his own responsibility?—Certainly; I think that the responsibility of the Secretary of State cannot be too complete; the fewer rules that are made by way of limiting it the better.

5039. We have had an opinion expressed to us on the part of some great authorities that there might be a considerable diminution of the subordinate staff, with equal efficiency in the discharge of the duties of the servants of the Crown; should you be inclined to confirm that opinion yourself, with your knowledge and experience?—The fact of the matter is, that as far as my own experience of a great mission or a great embassy, the work is of an exceedingly fluctuating character; there are some moments when the strain is very strong, and there are other moments when work is slack. Neither the periods in which work is heavy, nor the periods in which work is light, can be foreseen; consequently, if a pressure of work occurs when the embassy or mission is under-staffed, no doubt that creates a considerable amount of inconvenience. But in missions to which some permanent officer is attached, I have generally found this inconvenience much diminished.

5040. Then you would be in favour of a suggestion which has been made to us, that it is desirable at the larger missions to have a gentleman of the nature of a permanent officer connected with the mission?—I think that this would very much depend upon the frequency with which the junior members of the service are moved from post to post. I should not say, from my own experience, that a man's diplomatic education is materially advanced by frequently moving him about whilst he is in the lower grades of the service.

5045. That knowledge you would propose to aim at giving them by fixing them more permanently at the missions than they are now?—Yes, so far as such a system could be fairly and practically carried out, but I entertain a great disinclination to any positive system of hard-and-fast regulations in a service like diplomacy. I think the fewer rules the better in every way.

5046. I was going to ask how you would get over the apparent hardship of banishing one set of gentlemen to the minor missions, say in South America or the East, some remote and unsatisfactory portion of the globe, and sending the other and favoured set to the great missions?—Un-

doubtedly that would be a hardship, and I do not think you can get over it.

5049. With regard to the salaries of the diplomatic servants, we have had very general complaints laid before us, in the despatches written in answer to Lord Clarendon's Circular Despatch, of the deficiency of the public pay, and the great rise of the prices which diplomatic servants have to pay at times; do you concur in that?—Undoubtedly the value of money has decreased, and prices have risen all over Europe very much.

5052. It seems to me very desirable that in all branches of the service diplomatists should be rather encouraged than discouraged to *retremper* themselves as often as possible in English ideas by intercourse with their own country.

5055. I am not aware of the total number of unpaid attachés in the profession, but it certainly does not appear to me that it would be desirable to have an arbitrary limitation of admissions into the service; that is a question which can be best judged of exclusively by the Secretary of State himself.

5056. The whole of your view, as I understand, rather hangs upon that point of leaving the Secretary of State to his responsibility and not fettering him by fixed rules?—Certainly.

5058. As secretary of embassy, do you consider that it is part of your duty to do any work in the chancellerie, or that it is merely your duty to make your reports, and to superintend the staff subordinate to you?—Again, with regard to that, I come back to what I have been saying as to the practical impossibility of laying down fixed rules; I think that the organisation of the work must be very much left to the peculiar circumstances of it. I may say, with regard to myself, that I have frequently copied out despatches and done mechanical work in the chancery, both as secretary of legation and as secretary of embassy; but, as a general rule, I should certainly feel much surprise and some resentment if my chief, or the embassy in general, were to expect that, as a matter of course, I should employ myself in the mechanical work of the chancery, for which it appears to me the staff of the chancery should be sufficient.

5060. I have found generally that the secretaries of legation were perfectly willing to do any amount of work in the chancery that was necessary under a pressure.

5062. *Viscount Barrington.*] I suppose that as you are in favour of a considerable amount of leave being given, you would consider it right that the present system of leave to the heads of missions should be made similar to that granted to attachés?—Decidedly so.

5070. I suppose you consider it very desirable that a young man in the position of attaché should go into society a great deal?—I think it most important.

5073. Are you satisfied with the present state of the examination for the diplomatic service?—Well, if I may say so, I have no very great faith in examinations of any kind.

5074. You would have a standard examination to keep out the ignorant?—I think so decidedly; I have seen it mentioned that it was suggested by Mr. Morier that Roman law should form the foundation of any system of study for diplomacy; and I must say I think myself it would be an immense advantage to anyone in the diplomatic service to have a good knowledge of that subject.

5083. I have often felt strongly myself that it would be a great advantage to the foreign service if the heads of departments in the Foreign Office were men who have had personal experience of the practical

conditions under which the instructions that issue from the Foreign Office have to be carried out. I also think that it would improve the fibre of the foreign service if it had a greater connection with the public life of the country; if, for example, the foreign ministers and the secretaries of embassy and legation were occasionally employed in the work of the office at home. There are, no doubt, many adverse considerations to be borne in mind; but on general grounds my strong impression is that such a change, if practicable, would be advantageous, and that the more the Foreign Office can be internationalised, and the more the foreign service can be nationalised, the better it would be.

5087. Then do you think that when you find fault with the principle of seniority, that it is a feeling that is generally entertained by your contemporaries in the service?—I should say that in the higher grades of the junior members it was very strongly entertained; in the initiatory ranks of the service I think not.

5090. Do you think that the service is menaced with losing many of the juniors or some of the juniors, in consequence of this block?—I think so; three or four men have spoken to me with so much discouragement of the prospect before them, that I think there is very considerable danger of losing them, and they are among the very best men in the service.

5100. I should be very sorry to see the class of foreign servants too greatly localised; I think that they ought often to mix with people in their own country; but at the same time I think that considerable practical inconveniences arise from continually changing the localities in which the junior members are employed.

5101. All that tends to show that it is very essential in this service to invest the Secretary of State with very great discretion?—Undoubtedly; I think that cannot be too much remembered.

5104. Have you observed at all whether the system prevails in the French legations of having a permanent chancellor?—Yes; and I must say that my strong impression is that he is a very useful person.

5108. *Sir H. Lytton Bulwer.*] Mr. Cartwright asked you whether the feeling amongst the junior members of diplomacy was favourable to the principle of seniority or not; I suppose that if you were to poll them, you would find that the clever ones were not in favour of it, and that the stupid ones were?—Precisely.

5109. Therefore it is a principle that acts in favour of the stupid ones, and against the clever ones?—Yes.

5241. *Mr. A. Russell.*] You alluded in your previous evidence to the general utility of a gentleman employed as translator at the Lisbon Mission. Are we to understand from what you have said that the current work of a diplomatic chancery can, in your opinion, be better performed by copying clerks than by persons belonging to the social class from which attachés are generally selected?—Certainly not; and I am very glad of an opportunity to correct any such impression, if I conveyed it to the mind of the Committee. The sum total of what I would say is this, that I think that there is a class of work at all our great missions which could be very advantageously performed by gentlemen answering to the chancellors in the French service, but that I think it would be highly objectionable to substitute copying clerks for the present secretaries and attachés in the political and confidential work of our missions.

5242. Did I rightly understand you from your reply to Sir Henry Bulwer, that the current work of our diplomatic establishments could be efficiently performed by a smaller number of persons than is now generally employed on that work?—No, that was not at all my meaning. The facts referred to by Sir Henry Bulwer last Monday were all perfectly accurate. With

regard to the staffs of our missions, generally speaking, I think it would be most inadvisable to reduce them, and I should say it would be practically impossible to maintain them on the footing of a permanent minimum.

5244. It appears to me much to be desired that the largest possible number of our well-to-do youth, I mean the sort of young men who eventually go into Parliament and the liberal professions at home, should receive from the State every possible inducement, and every possible facility, for acquiring at least some personal knowledge of the social and political facts of foreign countries, and above all, for being able in this manner, as it were, to re-import back into home society a feeling of intelligent interest in foreign questions, and respect for foreign opinion.

5253. I should say that the two great desiderata are, on the one hand to secure, or rather to restore, to the executive the most unlimited freedom, not only, I should say, in the selection but also in the use and employment of the instruments it has to work with; and, on the other hand, to provide the taxpayer, out of whose pocket the services are to be paid, with a fair guarantee that the nation shall have a *bonâ fide quid pro quo* for the money which it expends on the service.

5254. Then you would be clearly for increasing the strictness of the examination?—If the examinations were not competitive, but were test examinations, I think that that would be desirable; though I still think that in a service like ours the ultimate test must be responsibility, and the proper ground for promotion success.

5255. Do you think that, supposing Government were to offer to grant to those members of the diplomatic service who have served for 10 years, a moiety of their pensions to retire upon, or a gratuity, many would retire?—If you mean in the minor grades of the service, I think there are a good many who would retire; but I think that the danger in that would be, that you might find the bad men willing to remain on, and the good men willing to go.

5256. *Mr. Rylands.*] You are quite of opinion, as I understand, that the block which is complained of is a serious detriment to the service?—I think it is decidedly so, because it tends to perpetuate a tone of discouragement and languor in the service, and of course I think that that is a bad thing.

5258. I must fairly say, that I think it is advisable to deal in some way with this discontent which is caused by what is called the block in the service; but at the same time I think you must put out of your head altogether the notion that you can organise and carry on efficiently a service like diplomacy without disappointing a great number of aspirants.

5259. No doubt it is the fact that in all services there will be a certain amount of disappointment; yet I gather that in your opinion the present arrangements are such as to create a maximum of disappointment?—Just so.

5263. Then I suppose you would think that the course which the Committee should take in viewing this question is to see whether there are no means for reducing the number of juniors in relation to the senior appointments, and also for giving to the juniors a greater inducement in their future prospects by opening to them the chance of success as the result of their own exertions?—Undoubtedly; I think that is the problem to be solved; you must always have a large number of juniors in the service, and I think that I would have a maximum of unpaid attachés, and only attempt to limit the number of persons to whom the State as it were pledges itself in any sort of way.

5269. I think that at present one of the advantages of the system of the Foreign Office is that the men who are in it have no sort of personal

interest whatever for or against the advancement of the foreign servants of the State. I think that that is an advantage which it is worth while to bear in mind.

5270. Lord Cowley says, "I have made the foregoing remarks on the supposition that the services at home and abroad, now under your Lordship's direction, are to remain distinct; but I must at the same time confess myself to be an advocate for their complete amalgamation. The clerks in Her Majesty's Foreign Office would, I conceive, profit as much from an occasional residence abroad as the secretaries and attachés of Her Majesty's foreign missions would gain by an occasional residence in England. If I saw how this system could be extended to the higher branches of the foreign services, I should equally advocate its application. But if the junior branches of the two services are amalgamated, it stands to reason that those who now enter the Foreign Office with no expectation beyond that of rising to a chief clerkship will be as eligible as any one else to a mission abroad. It seems to me that the chief clerks might be assimilated to secretaries of embassy, the second clerks to secretaries of legation, and the junior clerks to attachés, in one or more ranks, as may be deemed most convenient; and when I say 'assimilated,' I mean that there should be a constant change going on between the home and foreign services. The difficulty in questions of this nature is, to make a beginning; and it seems to me that the plan, if adopted, should first be brought into operation in the junior grades, and so be gradually introduced into the upper. That Her Majesty's diplomatic service would eventually be improved by it I have not the smallest doubt"—I entirely agree with every word of that; I have long felt that.

5275. I understood you to say a short time ago that one danger of the amalgamation of the two branches of the foreign service might be that the appointments to missions abroad might be affected by the circumstance that the officers in the Foreign Office might themselves have a desire to be placed in those positions?—Yes; assuming that the officials in the Foreign Office were men who had been in diplomacy, and who perhaps felt that they were not so likely to get on well in diplomacy as other members of it, and therefore had been more induced than another class of men in diplomacy would be likely to be, to accept permanent appointments in England. But of course that danger, I think, would not arise if the amalgamation were complete; if, for instance, the possibility of exchange was going on continually in this sense, that a man might be at one moment a secretary of embassy abroad, and at another moment the head of a department in England, without at all losing or foregoing his liability to be again employed in the foreign service abroad, and so on; that would obviate the danger.

5276. Yes; I have always felt very strongly in favour of the plan which you advocate, and which is suggested by Lord Cowley, in the passage you have read; only in carrying it out I think you would have to bear in mind that you are not dealing with a *tabula rasa*; and I have no doubt that in such a matter the inclination of the gentlemen who have now entered into the service of the Foreign Office is a point which demands the very greatest consideration, because a man may have laid out his life in the "home" service of the State in such a manner that he will consider it a great inconvenience to go abroad.

5278. There is really no inducement that I can see to any man who has worked his way up to a high position in the service and who is at this moment, we will say, minister or ambassador abroad, to retire into private life, seeing that he must do it upon a very small pension, and exchange a position which has habituated him to a great amount of consideration abroad, for a position, when he returns to England, in which he retains no

longer any connection with the public life of his country; and I do not think that he has any sort of social position in England derived from the fact that he has been a minister or ambassador abroad. Then of course his pension is really a very small one; if you compare it to the pensions of lawyers, to the retiring pension of a lord chief justice, for instance, or a lord chancellor, of course, the difference is enormous; and you must suppose that he is a man of high ability, and that he has rendered public services to the country, otherwise he would not be, or ought not to be, in the position of an ambassador.

5279. I should say certainly, as a general rule, it is the Foreign Secretary who has to administer the whole service, and who is responsible for the success of his work. I would give him unlimited freedom with regard to appointments, or "patronage," if you please, but of course accompanied by all the conditions of great public responsibility; of course he must feel that his appointments are liable to be challenged, and he must be able to defend them.

5280. And you think that public opinion would be a sufficient safeguard under those circumstances, in the working of the department?—I think so; it seems to me so, because it must so obviously be of the greatest importance to a Foreign Secretary to get the best men that he can, and there are sure, whatever appointments he makes, to be a great number of discontented people to object to them, and therefore he will always be permanently exposed to the necessity of defending the appointments that he has made—in fact, I would go the length of saying that his freedom in selecting persons for diplomatic employment ought to be so unlimited and so great, that I do not think the service ought to feel aggrieved if on special and particular occasions the Secretary of State were to select, instead of a professional diplomatist, some public man in England of eminence, whose position at home might be expected to carry peculiar weight abroad, and who had special qualifications for that particular negotiation from his exceptional personal knowledge of the matter to be treated, or from his personal participation in the sentiment to be represented; and I think that he ought to be able to count in that case upon the co-operation of every member in the service with whom he comes into contact, and that he should not be exposed to any feeling of resentment on their part.

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The above abstract of the evidence taken before the Select Committee extends to so great a length that I am reluctant to occupy still further space by remarks upon it; but some observations, based on personal experience, may not be thought ill-timed.

The Select Committee, as will have appeared from the above evidence, have received admirable suggestions for the administration of the diplomatic service; but, unfortunately, most of the schemes suggested are based on the supposition of a *tabula rasa*, and are therefore only ap-



plicable to a diplomatic, a foreign office, or a consular service, composed of persons who may enter one or other or the third from this time forward. The Select Committee have not received too much assistance in view of framing recommendations for removing the actual block in the way of promotion.

The schemes propounded by Mr. Christie, Sir H. Wolff, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Morier, and Mr. Lytton may be resolved into two—the first is to form one general service under the Foreign Minister, the members of which should be employed in the Foreign Office or in the diplomatic or in the consular service, and be transferred and re-transferred from one branch of service to another; the second scheme is to retain the consular service separate and distinct, but to amalgamate the Foreign Office clerks with the members of the diplomatic service. Of the two, the latter scheme is least open to objection, and may be discussed first.

Mr. Morier points out that it makes all the difference in writing reports, if the writer knows that he is addressing a person fully competent to appreciate and criticise what may be written. This object can only be attained either by fusing the Diplomatic Service with the staff of the Foreign Office, or by a constant interchange betwixt members of either branch. Mr. Hammond would find great inconvenience in parting with more than two or three clerks at a time; but as many clerks as may be spared at any one time from the Foreign Office might proceed, not as heretofore to Florence, or Vienna, or Berlin, but to Peking, Teheran, or Buenos Ayres, at which posts they should severally remain for some two years. On their return other clerks might be sent to Constantinople, St. Petersburg, or

Washington, and so on, until the Foreign Office became thoroughly leavened with personal knowledge of the various countries with which it has to deal. Were suitable terms offered there need be no lack of volunteers for such service, and such condition might at any rate be made compulsory on clerks entering from this time forward. Temporary exchanges between Foreign Office clerks and members of Legations are, to this extent, practicable, without disturbing the terms of contract as to salary, pension, &c., on which either class accepted public service; but there are difficulties in the way of their complete amalgamation. The training for either of the two branches of Her Majesty's Foreign Service is distinct, and any attempt to fuse the two might not result in an increase to the efficiency of either.

The scheme propounded by Sir H. Wolff and Mr. Labouchere has the extra disadvantage of involving the amalgamation with two small services of a third and numerous service, whose members entered it at various periods of life and under various conditions. It would be a very difficult task to adjust lists composed as Sir H. Wolff suggests, and to specify such conflicting claims; and if efficiency would be lost by the interchange of Foreign Office clerks and diplomatists, much more would this be the case in that of diplomatists and consuls, whose respective training is even more different.

Mr. Christie's suggestion that the Consulates should be absorbed in the missions at Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Ayres would lead to the secretary of legation at either place becoming virtually consul. There could scarcely be two posts named, the discharge of the duties of which requires more professional consular knowledge,

as well as more uninterrupted supervision. In Brazil, a country two-thirds the size of Europe,—in the Argentine territories, which contain thirty thousand Englishmen,—the secretary of legation may at any moment be called upon to undertake a journey of months' duration; and if he be charged with responsible consular duties, who is to perform them in his absence from the capital? In view of the daily increasing intercourse of those two countries with Europe, there are few posts where a secretary's time may be more usefully employed in collecting statistical information. Few alterations could, on the whole, seem less desirable than that proposed by Mr. Christie, unless his other short-sighted suggestion, to lower the rank of our diplomatic establishments in South America.

Some second secretaries should be removed from the line of promotion; yet, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Embassies and Legations are not overprovided with the staff necessary to meet emergencies. Were a chancellor named to the Embassies at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and to the Legations at Washington, Florence, Teheran, and Peking, the services of seven second secretaries might be dispensed with. One of these would naturally be promoted to fill a vacancy in case the post of *Chargé d'Affaires* at Monte Video be re-created, as all must foresee that, sooner or later, it will be. There is the utmost jealousy of each other on the part of the rival States on the opposite shores of the Plata; and as the minister accredited to both is forced to fix his residence in one of the two, he cannot fail to be looked on with distrust by the Government of the other State. Some conception of the public business devolving on the British

representative at Monte Video may be gathered from the fact that Her Majesty's ex-Chargé d'Affaires stated to the writer that he had sometimes to address as many as twelve official notes to the Uruguayan Government in one day.

The State, it has been shown, is now, as regards the Junior Secretaries of Legation, in the position of a contractor unable to fulfil his contract, and is bound to do as a private individual would have to do, namely, to pay forfeit to those to whom it is under such obligation. Members of Missions abroad might be informed that in future promotions the rule of seniority would not necessarily be adhered to, and that those who might feel their prospects affected in consequence should be at liberty to state to the Foreign Office whether or not it were their desire to exchange the Diplomatic Service for a Consular post, or whether they were prepared to retire on receiving pecuniary indemnity. The Foreign Minister need bind himself to no more than to consider the case of each junior member of the service individually. In the event of any person wishing to leave the service, whom it might be considered advisable to retain, it would be simple to give him to understand that the new rule would not operate to his disadvantage. There need be no difficulty in providing for those chosen for elimination, but it would seem unjust to subject those now in the service to any examination, further than those provided for on their entering it. All actual attachés are entitled to receive commissions as third secretaries; it would perhaps be better if, on their promotion, that rank were abolished.

Of late years there has been at the Treasury a determination to keep down the emoluments of public servants,

regardless of the wisdom of ages embodied in the proverb that penny wisdom is pound foolishness. One or two instances may illustrate the working of this principle.

The difficulty of acquiring Arabic and Turkish led to the creation of Dragomans, in connection with the Foreign Embassies at Constantinople, but this institution is admitted to be not without its drawbacks. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe found these so considerable, that he recommended the appointment of an Oriental Secretary to the Embassy, fortune having thrown in his way a gentleman well fitted to hold the post. As, in the course of time, Mr. Alison's turn for promotion would arrive, it was necessary to make provision for filling his place, and four Student Attachés were sent to Constantinople. This measure has been pronounced to have been "a failure," but perhaps some persons would not be sorry to see another "failure" that should produce another Lord Strangford. Endowed with the rarest gifts, that child of genius had rendered splendid service to his country and the world ere he sank into an early grave. Less fortunate was Mr. Almeric Wood, a man of equal promise, who was untimely cut off by a fever whilst aiding in the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier. The third Student Attaché is now Secretary at Lisbon; the fourth is Oriental Secretary at Constantinople. He has for many years been assisted by Mr. Lionel Moore, who is admirably fitted to fill the post, and whose services have been amply recognised by four Ambassadors under whom he has served, and, to use the ordinary phrase, he "cannot be spared" from Constantinople. His services are valued by Great Britain at £400 a year, to which sum it was, it is said, proposed by the Earl of Clarendon

that another £100 a year should be added. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Treasury, and that at a time when an offer was being made to Mr. Moore, from another quarter, of more than seven times as much a year. Mr. Moore's loss would impair the efficiency of the Embassy staff to an irreparable degree; but it can scarcely be expected that he will go on much longer giving his services for a sum altogether disproportioned to the price at which they would be valued by others.

In the Queen's service, attached to the Mission in Persia, was a courier named Malek Mahomed, who during more than forty years had rendered exceptionally good work, and who had been highly commended by each and all of the Ministers under whom he had been placed. I may add that no harder service could be conceived than that of a courier whose life is passed in performing incessant journeys in the saddle over the inhospitable mountains of Armenia. Malek Mahomed, in the course of the year 1869, applied for a pension, the grant of which was advocated by Mr. Alison, whose recommendation was forwarded to the Treasury. For some reason, or for none, the Treasury hesitated, and consequently Malek Mahomed was sent on one more winter journey, from the fatigue of which he died. The Treasury official who turned a deaf ear to his prayer may appropriate to himself the credit of having saved the country a miserable pension, but who shall estimate the national discredit in Persia which must follow this heartless refusal?

I may cite yet another case, which ought to make Englishmen blush. Few romances ever aroused deeper interest than is awakened by the perusal of Mr. Kaye's

*History of the Affghan War*, and of that admirable work no chapter so much impresses the imagination as that which describes the sufferings of the two English officers at Bokhara. Stoddart and Conolly are English household words, but few persons seem to remember that they had a companion in their Bactrian donjon. Mahomed Beg owed his life to an accident, resumed his duties as courier to the Legation at Teheran, and served until he could no longer sit in his saddle, when he was rewarded by a pension of rather less than one pound a month. He is in his old age obliged to eke out his livelihood at Kerbela by asking alms from the pilgrims who come to pray at the shrine of Hoosein.

I have read with the utmost attention the evidence given with reference to the Persian Mission. Sir Henry Rawlinson contends that, in the first place, the direction of that Mission should be re-transferred to the India Office; and, in the second, that the system of expending annually a sum of money in presents to the Shah should be resumed. Sir Henry Rawlinson's acquaintance with Persia and the countries all around it, is indeed unrivalled, and persons may be excused for allowing themselves to be guided in their opinion on this subject by his sole authority. But the greater the influence of his name the more incumbent is it on those who differ from him in opinion to state the arguments on the other side of the question.

Towards the close of the reign of Fetteh Ali Shah, Sir John Campbell, then Envoy to the Court of Persia from the Governor-General of India, officially reported that, as merely accredited by a subordinate Government, he had not the position and influence at Teheran

which would be conceded to a Minister representing the English Crown. Advantage was accordingly taken of the accession of Mahomed Shah to the throne to substitute in Persia a Mission from the Crown for that from Calcutta, and Sir Henry Ellis went to Teheran as Ambassador. From the year 1835 until the year 1859 the Minister in Persia was accredited from the Foreign Office. The momentarily increased influence which after that year followed the transfer of the direction of the Legation to the India Office was owing solely to the personal qualities of the new Envoy, Sir Henry Rawlinson. He complied with Oriental usage, it is true, in offering gifts to the Shah, but it was to the charm of his presence, to his acquaintance with the Persian language, his well-known friendliness for Persia, and his thorough knowledge of that country's interests, that he owed the mastery which he soon acquired over the King and over his Ministers. That the successor of Chosroes and Abbas, the disposer of a Civil List of £400,000\* sterling, a sensible monarch, who has the interests of his country at heart, could be seriously influenced in his foreign policy by the value of £1,500 a year, is a proposition which seems to admit of doubt.

On the 8th of December, 1859, Sir Henry Rawlinson arrived at Teheran, but within a short time he was followed by a courier, the bearer of a despatch announcing that the direction of the Mission had been reassumed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, so that the influence which he wielded during his six months' stay in Persia

* Civil List	...	...	...	...	£200,000
Paid into the Shah's private Treasury, excess of Revenue					200,000
					<hr/> £400,000



was maintained, if not acquired, whilst the Legation was directed from the Foreign Office. Yet it is perhaps doubtful whether in the long run it would prove to be to the furtherance of British interests were the attempt renewed to create at the Persian Court an almost exclusive influence, such as that gained by the illustrious scholar above referred to. Russia has at least as great a stake in Persia as has England, and has far greater facilities for putting material pressure upon the Government of the Shah. It is no more to be expected that the Court of St. Petersburg would long sit tamely by, permitting an English ascendancy at Teheran, than that Great Britain should submit to a Russian dictatorship there. All that we require, all that we should demand, is that the representative of the one Power should be in as high a position in Persia as is accorded to the representative of the other.

Stress is laid on the supposed advantage which would accrue were the Secretaries of the Teheran Mission supplied by the army of India rather than by the diplomatic service, on account of the supposed facility with which the former would acquire the Persian language. This I conceive to be a fallacy. The officers of the Indian army who have passed the Interpreter's examination in Persian are, as the Army List shows, few indeed, and of these some might be unwilling to exchange Indian service for Persian, and others might be incapable of filling a diplomatic post. Hindostani has little or nothing in common with Persian but the character, and Persian spoken with an Indian accent is to the Shah's courtiers a source of more ridicule than English with a strong Scotch accent creates in a London drawing-room. Further, a knowledge of

French is absolutely necessary to a diplomatist at Teheran, and how many Indian officers are acquainted with that language? In point of fact the officer sent from Bombay to fill the post of Secretary of Legation under the India Office arrived at Teheran unacquainted with Persian, whilst the actual Secretary of Legation, who since the death of Lord Strangford is perhaps the best Persian scholar in the world, was, like Lord Strangford, educated by the Foreign Office.\*

There are at Teheran at any one time two first and two second Secretaries, the juniors being changed after three or four years' residence; a school of diplomatists, more or less acquainted with Persia and Persian, is thus being gradually formed, from amongst whom the Foreign Secretary may select his agents in that country. The observations made by Mr. Mitford with reference to our representation in China and Japan are entirely applicable to our representation in Persia.

The Shah is too enlightened to view with pleasure a transfer of the guidance of British relations with his Court which would degrade him from an equality with European monarchs, and place him on the list of Indian potentates; nor would the dictatorial Warren Hastings' style of diplomacy, which, under the guns of a squadron, is so effective with the Arab Chiefs of the Persian Gulf, be at all appreciated at Teheran.

The statements of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the only authority examined whose evidence is based upon per-

\* Should the Persian Mission ever be placed under the direction of the India Office, I would suggest that such officers as might be sent to Teheran should be selected as *not* having studied Persian in India. It is extremely difficult to divest one's-self of a bad pronunciation.

sonal acquaintance with Persia, deserve to be considered apart; the bulk of the other evidence with reference to the Teheran Legation points to the advisability of its remaining directed as now. The Earl of Clarendon representing the Foreign Office, and Lord Halifax the India Office, concur in their view of the question. Lord Derby expresses himself as being indifferent regarding it; but the fact remains that he, whilst at the head of the Foreign Office, did not disturb the existing arrangement—an arrangement the practical bearing of which is illustrated by Sir Henry Bulwer. So long as there will be a Foreign Office and an India Office the line must be drawn somewhere, but to me the rule for our relations with Eastern Courts seems clear—namely, that in countries where there are representatives of other European Powers English relations should be conducted by the Foreign Office: in countries where no nation but Great Britain is represented her relations should be under the direction of the Viceroy of India.

With regard to the subject of examinations I might suggest that it were perhaps desirable that some rule were laid down providing that examiners should know the languages in which they undertake to examine. The Commissioners are reported to have “passed” men in Persian and in Chinese who knew scarcely more than the alphabet of either language, but who knew perhaps as much as the examiners. Whilst, too, they have passed men who could not write a page of English correctly (for no amount of dulness was proof against the skill of M. Dusayer), they have rejected others who, like Mr. Monson, were acknowledged, both at Oxford and by every one except the Civil Service examiners, to be men of very high acquirements. Examinations, as

at present conducted, are no test whatsoever of talent or of capacity; they merely prove that a man who passes them has expended perhaps a hundred pounds in cramming. It is desirable that every inducement should be held out which might lead men to devote time to the acquisition of languages. Linguistic talent, it is true, is in itself no proof of capacity to fill a diplomatic post, but every language which a diplomatist learns increases the dimensions of the sphere in which he may be advantageously employed, and it is well worth while to expend a little money for the attainment of this object. For the acquisition of a fair amount of knowledge of German, Russian, Portuguese, Greek, Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Chinese, or Japanese, a reward of from £200 to £300 should be offered. But it ought not to be left with the head of a Mission to say when a man has acquired the knowledge of a foreign language that should entitle him to receive such reward. The Ambassador may be unfit to determine such a point, and is likely to lean to the side of good-nature when one of his staff is concerned. A Committee of persons of reputed knowledge should be requested to examine a candidate in the country where the tongue is spoken, and the candidate's papers, with the Committee's recommendation (if a favourable one), should be sent to England for the final decision of some well-known authority at Oxford or elsewhere; but this formality might be dispensed with in certain cases, such as that of one of our third Secretaries, who by open competition won the second prize for French from amidst all the youth of France.

The salary attached to the post of Secretary of Legation in all English Missions out of Europe ought to be so much higher than that attached to a similar

post in Europe as to attract the senior, or more experienced, Secretaries to the more distant posts. It is in most cases of less importance who may fill the post of Secretary to a Legation in Europe, than who should be Secretary of Legation at Buenos Ayres or Peking. In Europe a Minister going on leave usually proceeds to England, and in case of an emergency may, unless prevented by illness, be back at his post, without much inconvenience to himself, in the course of a few days. But it is far otherwise with a Minister returning from an American or an Asian post. He comes on long leave, at great expense to himself, and, however pressing the emergency, many weeks must elapse ere he can retrace his steps. Meanwhile the issues of peace or war may depend upon the discretion of the Secretary left in charge of the distant Legation. As at present arranged, the salaries of the Secretaries in America or Asia are on so reduced a scale as never to tempt any one in Europe to accept a more distant post in preference to one nearer home. Nor can it be expected that any Secretary will ever do so, to be a direct pecuniary loser by so doing. The Secretary of Legation employed at

Peking* should receive at least ... ..	£1,800	He receives at present, as Secretary; ... ..	£800
		As Oriental Secretary	400
At Teheran .. ..	1,200	He receives at present	750
At Jeddo .. ..	1,200	" "	800
At Washington .. ..	1,000	" "	700
At Rio de Janeiro .. ..	1,000	" "	700
At Buenos Ayres .. ..	1,000	" "	500
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£7,200		£4,650
	4,650		

\* The salary attached to the post of Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in China is £800—or £100 less than the yearly emoluments of each Captain of Cavalry in India.

It is said, and with respect to many instances truly, that a diplomatist ought to be content with little, as his daily working hours are fewer than those of a member of any other learned profession. Some instances, such as those of Lord Lyons, Lord Cowley, or Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, go far to upset this theory; but, admitting it to be to a certain extent true, what does it prove? Are certain posts unimportant on account of the duties attached to them being only occasional? Is quantity to command a higher price than quality? A merchant goes daily to the city and works from ten o'clock till five, but he is responsible for the result of his labour to himself alone. A diplomatist may be idle for days together, but for every hastily-written word that he commits to despatch-paper he is accountable not only to the Secretary of State but to the public at large, and even this responsibility is outweighed by that to himself, as knowing that he has in his keeping the interests of others.

One distinction between the members of the English Legation in any foreign capital and those of the Legation of any Continental Power is the absence of decorations from the breasts of the former. Many persons think that this state of things is altogether as it should be, and it must be admitted that nothing could well be more contemptible than the thirst for all manner of decorations which with foreign diplomatists is unquenchable; but if the principle of bestowing decorations on Her Majesty's civil servants abroad be admitted, the members of the Diplomatic and Consular Services have as much right to benefit by it as have the members of the Colonial or of the Indian Civil Service. The Order of the Cross of St. Michael and St. George has been extended for the benefit of

the former; that of the Star of India has been created chiefly for the latter; it would, in the minds of many, enhance the value of being in the Diplomatic or Consular Service were they put upon a corresponding footing with the members of the Colonial Service with respect to the Cross of St. Michael and St. George, and were Diplomatic and Consular Servants stationed in Persia, China, or Japan, eligible to receive the Star of India.

The evidence on the whole clearly points to the advisability of increasing rather than diminishing the annual national expenditure upon the diplomatic service, but the additional sum required need not alarm the tax-payer. The service has hitherto cost £180,000 a year, and if for the future it cost £200,000,—one forty-fifth part of our outlay on Abyssinia,—one ought to remember that efficient representatives in Europe, Asia, and America keep down our navy by many ships, our army by many battalions.



#### POSTSCRIPT.

The following letter, advocating a system of promotion by seniority rather than by selection, as suggested above, has been addressed to the writer of the pamphlet above alluded to, entitled

#### “THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.”

SEC. 1. Your admirable and practical essay proves to demonstration the existence of some radical evil in our present diplomatic organisation. Having had 30 years' experience of the subject in question, I may be allowed to offer some remarks on the same, premising that I thoroughly subscribe to all, or nearly all, your state-

ments, especially to this one:—"If the present condition of things remain unchanged, England must in years to come accept the inevitable results of apathy and disappointment on the part of those charged with representing and securing her interests abroad."

SEC. 2. Assuming that these evils and abuses are proved, as all who know the service, or who have read your essay, must be convinced they are, the question comes: "What is the remedy?" You have pointed out one which must recommend itself as offering immediate relief from the present dead-lock, without really doing any injustice—viz., the giving certain consular posts to diplomatists. It would seem obvious that the five political agencies and those consulates-general whose duties are partly political were the natural birthright of diplomatists. Even on commercial questions we are obliged by our examinations, by the reports on commerce and industry assigned to us since 1857, above all by the nature of our regular duties, to acquire some knowledge. A diplomatic training must surely afford a presumption of greater qualifications for the consular service than any other or no professional training.

SEC. 3. The converse proposition—viz., that consuls must make good diplomatists—has been abundantly favoured in practice, for seven of our 18 envoys and two of our seven *chargés d'affaires* have been taken from the consular and other professions. Yet no corresponding outlet has been afforded in the consular service for the pent-up, overstocked diplomatic profession. The slightest consideration will show that to reverse this system would be but just to both professions, which are closely allied in the nature of their duties, but which differ entirely in the nature of their organisation, inasmuch as one is, and the other is not, placed on the footing of a regular seniority service. There is no special apprenticeship required of, or any pledge of advancement held out to, consuls, while we are subjected to an *apprenticeship of some 20 years, and to an expenditure of some £7,000*, before we can make a living. If we have consented to make such sacrifices it was evidently on the understanding, tacit but sacred, that the prizes of our own profession at least should be reserved for us. As an injustice has been done to us in this respect, it is right that compensation should be afforded to the sufferers in the wise and equitable mode which you have pointed out.

SEC. 4. This mode, however, will not suffice to effect a permanent cure. The consular service may hereafter be placed on a

lines



footing of seniority, in which case diplomacy would have to depend on its own resources. Those resources are small, being limited to a maximum of £180,000 per annum, but perhaps sufficient if properly administered. Even if this outlay were increased to £200,000, no man in his senses can allege that this is an excessive burden for England with her budget of £70,000,000, considering her intricate political relations with 38 Governments scattered all over the globe. The first and paramount duty of these agents is the prevention of war. Judging from the experience of the past, and turning our eyes to the state of our nearest neighbour, we must admit that our diplomatic expenditure is a most insignificant premium of insurance to pay for helping to promote a good understanding with foreign nations. The Abyssinian war of a few months cost us fifty times the whole annual charge of our diplomacy. One European war would cost us more in a year than all our diplomacy in a century.

SEC. 5. The problem, as I understand it, therefore is, not what further prunings may be effected, but how to obtain the best possible value for our money; in other words, how to reconcile the conflicting exigencies of *justice*, *efficiency*, and *economy*. Having long reflected on this problem, I have arrived at certain definite principles and conclusions which I confidently recommend to the consideration of the Committee on the Diplomatic Service, as being more conducive to the above purpose than anything else which has yet been propounded. My scheme is founded on the due ponderation of the above three interests involved in the question, thereby differing from most other schemes hitherto advanced, which have not kept the balance true among these three conflicting claims, but have generally contemplated the question from one or two only of its three sides.

SEC. 6. It is the opinion of some of our statesmen that diplomatic posts should be conferred on eminent home politicians, or (in American parlance) on the "lobby." This is the American, and partly the Spanish, system. It may therefore be studied there in its results. There is much to be said in favour of, though I do not myself approve of, this system. With Macaulay I hold that this is the system which makes Ambassadors that do not know French; Admirals who know not the stem from the stern; and Governors-General who know not the difference between a rupee and a pagoda. It is of no use now to raise a controversy on the question of

*amateur* diplomacy. The opposite or "professional" system has been long adopted by us. We are committed to this system for better, for worse ; we must now, therefore, accept it *with all its consequences*.

SEC. 7. If any difference of opinion still exists as to the comparative merits of the two systems, there can surely be none as to the third or composite system under which we are living, which consists in a combination of the above two opposite systems. It is this, and not as you suppose (p. 17), having made British Diplomacy a regular seniority service (which it never has been really made), that has landed us in our present "slough of despond." This unnatural alliance between two incompatible systems is more oppressive in its effects than the American system, pure and simple. By all means let us abolish diplomacy altogether as a profession, and open it to the world at large ; let us have free trade in diplomacy, or let us have competitive examinations for ambassadors, if we can thus obtain a better article. But let us have done with the present hybrid system. Let us no longer allure young men into the service on false pretences. We now encourage them to devote their youth, their studies, their health, their fortunes to this profession, we put them through two stiff examinations, we send them, "nolentes volentes," all over the world, we get out of them, as you have clearly exposed, an amount of unpaid labour equal to £20,950 per annum. We then, when a Mission falls vacant, turn upon them and say—"Gentlemen, we owe you nothing. Your salaries are paid punctually, so our accounts are square. We have found a better man than any of you." Might they not retort upon us—"We have given all the best part of our lives and of our fortunes to your service on the tacit but clear understanding of obtaining the prizes of our profession. These are our inalienable birthrights, else our apprenticeship has been a deception and a snare."

SEC. 8. The Committee would materially promote the interests of Her Majesty's service, in recommending first of all the proper organisation of the British Diplomatic Body by means of a written code defining the rights as well as duties of all parties, thus completing Lord Clarendon's revised code of June 1, 1870 ; it should embrace, amongst others, the following principal heads : I. Classification ; II. Salaries ; III. Allowances ; IV. Promotion ; V. Rewards and Penalties ; VI. Pensions. I propose to say a few words on all these points, and to sketch out a complete

scheme of diplomatic reform, which would eminently promote the public interest, without necessarily increasing the public charges.

SEC. 9. I.—Classification. Our ordinary Diplomatic agents are now divided into the following nine classes:—

I. Ambassadors . . . . .	5
II. Envoys . . . . .	18
III. Chargés d’Affaires . . . . .	7
IV. Political Agents . . . . .	5
V. Secretaries of Embassy . . . . .	5
VI. Secretaries of Legation . . . . .	23
VII. Second Secretaries . . . . .	30
VIII. Third Secretaries . . . . .	15
IX. Attachés . . . . .	17
Total . . . . .	<hr/> 125 <hr/>

This multiplicity of classes in so small a corps is quite unnecessary, and might well be reduced from nine to six by merging together Nos. III., IV., and V., and also Classes VIII. and IX. Besides these 125 regulars there are some 29 functionaries of different other kinds belonging to the service, such as chaplains, dragomans, clerks, &c. There is at some Legations, and there ought to be at all, a good archivist-translator. The great mass of printed and written matter which accumulates at every Legation is useless and perplexing if not properly arranged, an art which few understand. The archivist should be a permanent official, with merely local rank, and not forming a separate class.

SEC. 10. II.—Salaries. The salaries at present vary in the same class according to some idea of the relative cost of living in different towns. I propose that the salaries in each class should be alike, such salary to represent the personal remuneration attached to the functions, irrespectively of the outlay required of envoys, &c., for *frais de représentation*, and by other local circumstances. The salary alone to be personal and inalienable, thus serving as a fair basis for calculating pensions.

SEC. 11. III.—Allowances. These are now allotted only for covering the different expenses of house-rent in different places. I would extend this principle to other expenses, which are also a part of the ambassadorial duties, such as, for instance, social entertainments and hospitality. This is an item which cannot and need not, save in extreme cases, be accounted for, but which should, with the

allowance for house rent, be provided for separately from the salary. It is, in my opinion, desirable that the whole staff of the mission should be accommodated under the same roof. It would be clearly unjust to throw this expense on the salary of the envoy. It is impossible to define the measure of hospitality to be practised; but the extent of this duty may be indicated by allotting beforehand fixed sums for this and other public purposes, under the term of "Allowances." These sums, or a certain part of them, should, during the envoy's absence, be paid to the chargé d'affaires.

SEC. 12.—IV. Promotion. This is really the weak point of the present system. In theory this is a seniority service, but in practice it is not, and never has been, one. The only remedy which I see lies in a faithful and honest observance of the principle of seniority adopted by the Government. At all events let that principle be fully and fairly put to the test of practical experience. While the present Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Hammond, holds the reins, the management in the lower grades is and will be conducted with justice, so far as depends on him. In the early stages the road is straight and smooth enough; but after a time it becomes a regular jungle. At the same time some secret short cuts and royal roads are allowed to exist. In short, the journey which began so smoothly ends either by sticking in the mud or by scrambling for one's life. Is this fair to those who have paid heavy turnpikes? If we are told that these quick travellers are those best qualified for the posts which they have conquered, the poor secretaries may fairly ask: "*Are we to wait till every man in England, cleverer than ourselves, is provided with a Mission?*"

SEC. 13. This is the real cause of the dead-lock and despondency so truly depicted in your pamphlet. My remedy is a simple one. Let us take our envoys as we do our bishops, judges, generals, and admirals, solely from the training school provided for that purpose, or let us abolish that training school. The slightest consideration will show the ruinous effect on the service of one interloping appointment. Assuming that two Missions become vacant annually, the appointment of an outsider robs each member of the junior classes, say 102 individuals, of half a year's promotion, worth say 1,500*l.*—in other words, inflicts an injury on innocent individuals amounting to about 153,000*l.*

SEC. 14. On a vacancy arising in any class it should devolve

on the senior member of the same class, if he wished to accept it, and on the other members successively, in order of seniority. Surely it would be wasting words to prove the elementary justice of this arrangement. The formal recognition of this principle would infuse new hope and spirit into the service, and would summon up dozens of volunteers for China and South America. At present, as you truly say—"Nor does service in remote countries generally accelerate promotion. Rather the reverse. Out of sight out of mind," &c., &c.

SEC. 15. I should add that these suggestions are intended to serve as a basis for a written code which should lay down certain principles, not immovable rules. The Secretary of State should be allowed to put his veto on any transfer, exchange, or promotion, if objectionable on public grounds.

SEC. 16. The vacancy which would finally remain in any class should be offered to the senior member of the class below, with the liberty of accepting or declining it. In the latter case, he would be passed over by the next in rotation. This simple mode would prevent a world of heartburning. We should hear no more of some careers "all in the sunshine," and others "all in the shade," as you well put it. The laggard would waive his right to promotion for the sake of remaining at some favourite post, which will probably be that best suited to him. His enterprising colleague will fairly *gain* a march upon him; this to the perfect satisfaction of both parties, and to the manifest advantage of the public service.

SEC. 17. A strict seniority scheme lies open to one serious objection alone—viz., that it fetters the Secretary of State in the exercise of his discretion, by preventing the immediate advancement of merit. My answer is, 1stly, That justice must go before expediency. 2ndly, That in this case the interests of both are identical. The problem before us is—not how to reward merit at the earliest age, but to create and nurture that merit—in other words, *how to establish the best possible school of Diplomatsists*. To effect this, as to govern mankind in general, strict justice is the first requisite. To discourage the whole service for the sake of promoting some precocious genius a few years before his turn would be as improvident as cutting down a tree to get at the fruit.

SEC. 18. This system must be supplemented by a well-considered scheme of temporary and permanent retirement. Thus, when the senior member of a class is not considered eligible for a

particular post which may become vacant in the next class above, he should not necessarily be raised to the *post* as well as to the *rank* which becomes vacant. The Minister should have the power of placing such individual for a limited time *en disponibilité* (on half-pay) and of appointing to the post the next on the list. This would, no doubt, involve some increase of the half-pay list.

SEC. 19. The objection which may be drawn from the additional expense involved in this reform is hardly worthy of consideration. Let a certain fixed maximum sum be allotted to the Secretary of State for defraying the whole expenses of the Diplomatic Establishment, to include full-pay, half-pay, pensions, allowances, and extraordinary disbursements. Let the employment of that sum be, of course, annually accounted for to Parliament. But let us be spared the annual recurrence of an unseemly wrangle. Let us rather endeavour to allay than to aggravate the sense of insecurity thus engendered.

SEC. 20. V.—Rewards and Penalties. These most efficacious instruments of Government are but sparingly used in the diplomatic service. A rough kind of justice used to be meted out in promoting any individual who had made himself conspicuous over the heads of others. But zeal and industry should be rewarded at the expense, not of innocent individuals, but of the public at large, which profits by those qualities in its servants. Good service pensions might, in certain exceptional cases, be granted. The most obvious and valued rewards are the orders and decorations in the gift of the Crown. These, if judiciously distributed, will prove an ample incentive to exertion. Neglect of duty might then fairly be visited by a graduated system of penalties.

SEC. 21. VI.—Pensions. These are, on the whole, fairly regulated by the Act of August 2nd, 1869. Its provisions have, however, given rise to one serious complaint. The 7th clause of this Act says: "A person shall not be qualified for receiving a pension of any class until the expiration of 15 years from the date of his first commission." This is a reproduction of an Act which admittedly bore very hardly on the class of "Paid Attachés," who held no Royal Commissions. This injustice was remedied for the future in 1862, by all paid attachés being provided with commissions, which enabled them to count their future services for obtaining a pension, though all their previous services in the same capacity went for nothing. The junior

paid attachés did not lose much; but those of ten or fifteen years' standing had now to serve twenty-five to thirty years instead of 15 years, the term required of their juniors. This anomaly might easily have been redressed in the Act of 1869 by the insertion, after the words quoted above, of the following: "or from that of his first paid appointment." This injustice calls for redress even at the expense of an Act of Parliament, and tends to keep up the existing dead-lock.

I remain, &c., H. B. ~~arron~~

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